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Balkan Trade Union Conference Held in Belgrade

Dyulgerov Addresses Meeting

AU2807140188 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
27 July 88 p 5

[Excerpts] Dear Comrade Orozen, esteemed colleagues,

An idea close to the hearts of the working people of the Balkan countries is on the way to fulfillment, and this is a source of great joy for us. The very fact that trade union leaders from Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia are gathering together, guided by a common sense of responsibility for the interests and fate of the millions of workers, forms a basis for optimism and new hopes. [passage omitted]

I assure you, dear colleagues and friends, that the Bulgarian delegation comes to Belgrade with the profound conviction that this meeting conforms to the traditions of the workers of the Balkan countries; it comes with the intention and warm desire to develop the Balkan trade union dialogue as an inseparable part of the European and worldwide trade union dialogue for ensuring a peaceful and better future for mankind. [passage omitted]

There is no doubt that a great deal has been done in recent decades to establish and develop good-neighborly relations between the Balkan states. The nickname of "powder keg" is increasingly falling out of use. Interstate association is an important and characteristic feature of the peninsula's political life. Economic cooperation is making decisive progress. In the last 20 years trade has doubled. There has been substantial progress in other fields, such as culture, art, science, sport, and tourism. I would say that one can now speak of a new spirit in the Balkans, of a new stage in the development of Balkan cooperation. The foreign ministers' meeting held a few months ago in Belgrade provided proof of this. This was the first such meeting in Balkan history. The platform mapped out at the meeting opens up wide opportunities for cooperation in all fields of human activity. Following Belgrade, the dialogue continued in Sofia, where practical decisions were made on a number of issues of mutual interest. These are processes that go far beyond the framework of the previous relations between the Balkan states.

The trade unions do not lie outside these processes. Furthermore, in our view they have made a substantial contribution to the changing climate in the Balkans. It is well known that until now trade union cooperation has been expressed mainly in bilateral relations. Our experience permits me to state that in recent years the trade union exchange has not lagged behind state, economic, cultural, and sporting exchanges. [passage omitted]

The very fact that we are here, gathered around one and the same table, is a sign of real progress, and evidence of positive changes in trade union life in the Balkans.

We can only regret that certain of our colleagues are not present here. However, the doors are open, and we are convinced that the Belgrade meeting will be followed by other forums just as useful and necessary for all-Balkan cooperation, peace, and social progress. [passage omitted]

The time in which we live is one that departs from previous traditions and standards, one that for its part requires nonstandard thinking, nonstandard views on peace and war, and on international cooperation. It is no accident that the new political thinking is increasingly establishing itself in international relations as a philosophy for the realities of the nuclear missile age. It is being accepted and becoming the viewpoint of many governments and of ordinary people. [passage omitted]

It is hardly necessary to prove that this essentially new situation also creates much more favorable possibilities for developing Balkan cooperation, but the possibilities form only one aspect of the problem. The other, more important aspect is to make use of the possibilities, and this depends on us to an exceptional degree, on our readiness to resist the stereotypes and repetition of the past. It is well known that the policy of confrontation, in which the image of the enemy occupied a central position, for a long time dominated the situation in the Balkans. It is well known that even now differences, specific national interests, and even contradictions exist between the Balkan countries. The problems are therefore neither insignificant nor simple, but there is a solution. In our view, the solution lies in this: Efforts must be made, without disregarding the specific interests of the individual countries, to repulse all attempts, from wherever they come, to place the Balkan peoples in a position of confrontation, and efforts must be made to bring to the forefront the issues that draw the Balkan peoples together. These are the main issues that agitate the workers of our peninsula, namely, peace, security, and economic and social interests.

We are deeply convinced that there is no issue that we could not discuss and resolve if we display realism, understanding, and respect for the other person's position and experience, if we are guided by the vital interests of the working man. [passage omitted]

It is commonly acknowledged that the Belgrade foreign ministers' meeting imparted a powerful impulse to the positive processes in the Balkans and opened up broad prospects for good-neighborliness and cooperation. We can state with satisfaction that this also creates a good basis for trade union cooperation. The situation is indeed different: By common agreement, the problems have been outlined that will be resolved by the united efforts of the Balkan countries. These are: turning the Balkans into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone; ensuring the ecological protection of our peninsula; further developing cooperation in the economic, cultural, and humanitarian fields, and so on. The issue that faces us is how can we, as mass workers organizations,

engage ourselves in this all-Balkan process? It is clear that we will be of use if we succeed in bringing home to the people these vital requirements of our region and make more people, the millions of workers, sympathetic to these requirements. To a large extent, it depends on the trade unions how far the new political thinking, the new approach to solving problems, and the new spirit of interrelations and cooperation in the Balkans in general gain public support and become a public cause.

We, the Bulgarian trade unions, are aware that it is not enough to repeat what is being done by the state, but we must find and apply forms and means appropriate to a social organization for achieving these same goals. For example, regarding the great idea to turn the Balkans into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone, we should not merely make plain the military-political significance of this problem, which is, of course, of primary importance. It is the proper place of the trade unions to make the people aware of something different, namely, the social value of a zone freed of these weapons.

The new political thinking requires us to view from a different angle certain problems and conceptions with which we have grown so familiar that we don't even want to think about them. For example, why don't we start by viewing differently the expenditure on conventional weapons, which swallows up immense means and also conceals such great dangers to life? The issues of reconversion [rekonversiya] and of economic cooperation should be treated the same way. The trade unions are directly involved in all these problems and others, and have opportunities in this connection both to work among the people and to exert influence on the state organs. One issue that is becoming increasingly acute, and on which we as trade unions have had no experience of working, is the ecological protection of the peninsula. In this field, the situation is already really serious, and we cannot stand on one side, since the problems affect people's vital interests. [passage omitted]

Esteemed colleagues, I would like to voice my deep conviction that at this meeting we are making a good beginning on all-Balkan trade union cooperation. In doing this, we are meeting an essential requirement of the time, and accepting responsibility to the workers of our countries for further developing this constructive process. The cause of peace, good-neighborliness, and cooperation in the Balkans requires our mutual efforts, and the Bulgarian trade unions will work actively toward this goal.

Thank you for your attention.

Dizdarevic Receives Dobrescu

AU0108181988 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Jul 88 p 6

[Text] Belgrade, 27 July (AGERPRES)—A warm exchange of messages took place in Belgrade between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, when the head of the Yugoslav Federal Republic received Comrade Miu Dobrescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania. Also received were the leaders of trade unions who had participated in the conference of trade unions from Balkan countries, held in the SFRY capital.

Turkey Foreign Minister Yilmaz on Official Visit

Arrives in Tirana 1 Aug

AU0108191088 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, arrived in Tirana today for an official and friendly visit to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania at the invitation of Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs.

He was welcomed at Rinas Airport by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Minister of Transportation Luan Babameto; Alfred Uci, chairman of the Committee for Culture and the Arts; and other comrades.

Nesip Kaci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to Turkey, and Teoman Surenkok, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana, were also present.

In his statement to journalists who came to the airport, Mesut Yilmaz, the Turkish foreign minister, said: First I would like to express my thanks for the warm welcome extended to me as soon as I arrived in your country. I am glad to be the first Turkish foreign minister to visit Albania. In our foreign policy, relations between the Turkish and Albanian peoples have assumed a particular place, and I have no doubt that they will be further expanded and that new prospects will be opened. The talks and meetings that will be carried out during these days will also serve this purpose. The high consideration in which we hold the Albanian people was implanted by Ataturk, the founder of the Turkish state, who attached a particular importance to the Albanian people and friendship with them. At the same time I am bearing in mind the appreciation of the Turkish people and of the friendship between our two peoples on the part of your great leader Enver Hoxha and the present leadership of Albania. I have noticed this appreciation of the Turkish people with particular interest and pleasure. After (recalling) his meeting with Reis Malile, the Albanian foreign minister, at the meeting of the foreign ministers of Balkan countries in Belgrade, he said: I hope that the meetings and talks that we will hold here in Tirana will serve the further expansion of bilateral relations, and the deepening of good understanding, peace, and security in the Balkans, and I stress that from the political point of view, there is not a single problem between Turkey and Albania. We have friendly relations. I also hope that economic relations between our two countries will develop more in the future. We have anticipated that two agreements in fields of economic and scientific cooperation will be signed during my stay in Albania. I want to particularly stress on this occasion the invitation I will extend to my colleague Mr Reis Malile to pay a visit to Turkey, and I hope that this visit will be made before the end of this year. I express the conviction that relations between our two countries will develop still more in the future.

Confers With Malile

AU0108191188 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania received today Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, and held a warm and friendly conversation with him. On this occasion, views were exchanged on the friendly relations between our two countries and on their further development, which will be the purpose of further discussions between the two ministers during these days.

Nesip Kaci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to Turkey, and Teoman Surenkok, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana, were also present at the reception.

Attends Dinner With Officials

AU0208092688 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Tirana, August 2 (ATA)—On August 1 in the evening the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, gave a dinner in honour of the Turkish foreign minister, Mesut Yilmaz, and the persons accompanying him.

Attending were the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Besnik Bekteshi; the minister of transports, Luan Babameto; the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci; the minister of light industry, Vito Kapo; the chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts, Alfred Uci; the president of the Academy of Sciences, Prof Aleks Buda; the chairman of the Writers' and Artists' League, Dritero Agoll: deputies, functionaries of ministries and central institutions of the capital.

Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Albania to Turkey, Nesip Kaci, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Turkey to our country, Teoman Surenkok.

Speeches were exchanged by the two ministers during the dinner.

After wishing welcome to Albania to the foreign minister of Turkey, Mesut Yilmaz, the foreign minister, Reis Malile, evaluated the visit as another important development in the comprehensive strengthening of the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries. He pointed out the feelings of sincere friendship and respect the Albanian people and the Turkish one cherish for one another and stressed that these relations are forged by the distinguished leader of the

Turkish people and great statesman of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, and the unforgettable leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, who have maturely orientated the friendship between our two peoples and countries towards the new democratic values to the common benefit, the benefit of peace and stability in the region.

The traditional links existing between the two peoples, their ancient friendship and mutual respect, Comrade Ramiz Alia has pointed out, are a sound basis for the further development of the Albanian-Turkish relations and for raising to a higher level the many-sided contacts and exchanges.

Further on, Reis Malile said that the good understanding and friendly cooperation between our countries as for their value and importance exceed the bilateral framework. They are at the same time an important factor of peace and stability in the Balkans. We have wished and strived so that an atmosphere which serves the strengthening of good neighbourliness, development of sincere cooperation and consolidation of independence of each state exists in the peninsula. From this point of view, we evaluate also the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkans held in February this year and which marked a positive development and a welcome beginning for our peninsula.

The developments in the Balkans, Reis Malile underlined, are indivisible from those in Europe, the Mediterranean, and Middle East, where the situations are complicated and are a direct consequence of the two superpowers' interference. Despite any small step made in the relations amongst them, such as that of the agreement for the withdrawal of the middle-range nuclear missiles from Europe, the main factors of tension and explosions have not been done away with, peace has not become more secure.

Likewise, he spoke also of the very grave situation which continues in the Middle East due to the imperialist Zionist interference, violence and terror exercised by Israel towards the civil population on the occupied Arab territories. The Albanian Government, he said, supports the just struggle of the Palestinian people to have their own homeland. We hail every step which leads towards putting an end to the many-year long fratricidal war between Iraq and Iran, such as the recent ceasefire decision.

After expressing the great satisfaction for the visit to the friendly Albania, the Turkey's foreign minister, Mesut Yiimaz, said that the confidence that we feel towards one another, the cultural values, our common traditions and customs will carry further our friendship and cooperation. The great importance that the founder of the modern Turkey, the great leader Ataturk, had devoted to the Turkish-Albanian relations will continue to enlighten the road.

Mesut Yilmaz expressed the greetings of the Turkish people and his leaders for the friendly Albanian people who progress impetuously on the road of economic and social development. We Turks, he said, have known our Albanian brothers as people who keep their word, industrious, resolute, and proud. These features of the Albanian people in the present day conditions have become more important. Likewise, I am happy that during my visit I will find the possibility to witness the successes that the Albanian people have achieved on the road opened by the great leader Enver Hoxha, under the wise leadership of his excellency, Ramiz Alia.

After pointing out the progress made in Turkey on the road of economic and social development, he stressed further on that Turkey is ready that the existing friendly relations with Albania develop further in the framework of the principle of mutual interest. Our conviction is that as far as the Turkish-Albanian relations and cooperation develop and take new proportions, this will be not only a contribution to the interests of our countries, but also to peace, stability, and tranquility in the whole area of the Balkans, because Turkey and Albania, each, constitute an element of stability and equilibrium in the Balkans.

Turkey, he said further on, believes that the various social-economic systems should not hinder the development of the relations between the states. It is for the creation of the more harmonious, closer relations in the Balkan region. Both at the Belgrade meeting and at the meeting of the top functionaries of the foreign ministries, held in Sofia in June, Turkey and Albania proved an exemplary cooperation and solidarity. Turkey evaluates the active participation and the constructive contribution of Albania to the Balkan cooperation.

Speaking on some problems of international situation, the foreign minister of Turkey said that Turkey has made intensive efforts believing that Iran-Iraq war be put an end. He expressed the support for the just cause of the Palestinian people and said that in order to establish a just and durable peace in the zone there should be acknowledged all their legal rights, included the right to self-determination, and Israel must withdraw from the Arab lands it has occupied since 1967.

During the dinner, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, toasts were raised to the Albanian people and the Turkish one, to the friendship between them and to the further development of relations between the two countries.

Meets With Carcani

AU0208194188 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received today Mesut Yilmaz, foreign minister of the Republic of Turkey, at the seat of the Council of Ministers. The reception was attended by Minister of Foreign

Affairs Reis Malile and Gjon Gorishti, general secretary of the Council of Ministers. Nesip Kaci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Republic of Turkey; and Teoman Surenkok, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana, were also present.

Comrade Adil Carcani conducted a warm and friendly discussion with the Turkish foreign minister. He expressed his pleasure at the latter's visit to Albania and said that it would contribute to the further development of friendly relations and bilateral cooperation. The founder of the Turkish state, Ataturk, and the leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, he pointed out, have done a great deal to strengthen the traditional friendship between our two countries and peoples. This is not only in the interests of Albania and Turkey, but also in the interest of peace and security in the Balkans and beyond. At the Ninth AWP Congress, he went on to say, Comrade Ramiz Alia affirmed once again the determination to preserve and to further strengthen the friendly relations existing with the Turkish people. He then went on to tell the Turkish guests about the efforts and successes of the Albanian people in various fields, the prospects for the country's development, and the principled foreign policy of our country, which serves to preserve national freedom and independence.

After thanking Comrade Adil Carcani for the cordial reception given to him in our country, the Turkish foreign minister said that Turkey appreciated the progress made in Albania on the road of its development and relying on its own forces. I am pleased, he said, that I have had the opportunity to witness your achievements in Albania. Mesut Yilmaz then conveyed to Comrade Adil Carcani greetings from the Turkish premier, Turgut Ozal, and handed over a friendly message. In his message, Turgut Ozal expresses his pleasure at the invitation sent to him by Comrade Adil Carcani to make an official visit to Albania. He also points out that the recent developments in the friendly bilateral relations between the two countries and the increased number of contacts and visits have contributed positively to the fruitful cooperation between the two countries. The Turkish prime minister also expresses his belief that Mr Mesut Yilmaz's visit will provide a further impetus to the development of these constructive developments and will open up the way to new opportunities in the relations between the two countries. The Turkish prime minister also extended an invitation to make an official visit to Turkey.

Comrade Adil Carcani expressed his thanks for the message and the invitation, and asked the Turkish foreign minister to convey his greetings to Prime Minister Turgut Ozal.

This morning the Turkish foreign minister, Mesut Yilmaz, paid his respects at the Martyrs Cemetery and at Comrade Enver Hoxha's grave. He laid wreaths at the Mother Albania monument and on the grave of the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. He was accompanied at this ceremony by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Agim Kroi, deputy chairman of the Tirana District People's Council Executive Committee; and Eduard Shehu, commander of the Tirana Garrison.

Talks were conducted this morning at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Mesut Yilmaz, foreign minister of the Republic of Turkey. During their discussion, the two ministers pointed out that both governments had devoted special importance to the development of friendly relations between the two countries, and that these relations had been continually stable. They expressed their mutual pleasure at the atmosphere of cooperation and understanding between the two countries.

Foreign Minister Reis Malile stressed that considerable strides have been made in recent years, visits by various personalities have increased, and so have cultural exchanges, technical-scientific exchanges, contacts between various universities and institutions, visits by media representatives, and so forth.

Turkish Foreign Minister Yilmaz pointed out that the agreements, protocols, and various other programs concluded in recent years between the two countries in the fields of commerce, transportation, science, agriculture, industry, and so forth, together with the agreements to be signed today and those to be concluded in the future, will further promote cooperation between the two countries. The two ministers expressed the common wish to further expand bilateral cooperation, to provide it with a new substance, to raise contacts to a higher level, and to find new ways and forms to further expand economic and trade relations to their mutual benefit. They expressed the opinion that the further strengthening of relations and friendly cooperation between Albania and Turkey is not only to their mutual benefit, but is also a factor of peace and stability in the Balkans and beyond. The two ministers stressed that the development of bilateral relations is considered as an essential base for the development of mutual understanding and trust. In this context, Reis Malile stated, we welcome the latest developments in the relations between Turkey and Greece, and consider them as a positive development contributing to improve the situation in the Balkans. Mesut Yilmaz stressed that Turkey appreciates Albania's constructive contribution to Balkan understanding and cooperation. The two ministers also reviewed some aspects of the international situation, developments in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, and dwelt particularly on the situation in the Balkans.

The discussion was also attended by high officials of the foreign ministries of the two countries, as well as their respective ambassadors.

An agreement on economic, trade, industrial, and technical cooperation, and an agreement on highway transportation were signed today at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between the governments of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and of the Republic of Turkey. The ceremony was attended by Besnik Bekteshi, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission; Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of other central departments in Tirana.

The agreement on economic, trade, industrial, and technical cooperation was signed on the Albanian side by Foreign Minister Reis Malile, and on the Turkish side by Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz. The agreement deals with cooperation in various fields, particularly in industry, power generation, construction, agriculture, livestock-raising, and so forth. It also stipulates the exchange of technical and scientific information.

The agreement on international highway transportation was signed on the Albanian side by Minister of Transportation Luan Babameto, and on the Turkish side by Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz. This agreement stipulates cooperation and mutual facilities in the matter of international highway transportation between the two countries. The signing ceremony was also attended by the respective ambassadors of the two countries.

Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, today also received Mesut Yilmaz, foreign minister of the Republic of Turkey. During their meeting, they talked about the relations of friendship and cooperation between Albania and Turkey, and about the possibilities that exist to increase trade.

This afternoon, Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz and the persons accompanying him visited the National History Museum and the Exhibition of Albania's Economic and Cultural Development in Tirana. The Turkish guests were briefed about the history of our people and the successes attained in the fields of the economy, culture, education, health, and other sectors of life.

Transport, Economic Accords Signed

TA0208193588 Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1600 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Turkey and Albania signed two agreements in Tirana today in the fields of highway transportation and economic, industrial, and scientific cooperation. Turkish Radio and Television Correspondent Muhsin Cilteler reports from Tirana:

Official talks between the Turkish and Albanian delegations were held in Tirana today. Two agreements were signed at the end of the talks held by the foreign ministers of the two countries.

In a statement prior to the talks, Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile said that his government paid special attention to the promotion of relations with Turkey in all fields.

In turn, Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz said that Turkey sought to expand its trouble-free political relationship with Albania into the economic field.

Two agreements were signed at the end of the talks in the fields of highway transportation and cooperation in the economic, industrial, and scientific fields. One of the agreements envisions the formation of a Joint Economic Committee between the two countries on the ministerial level for the expansion of industrial and economic cooperation. The second agreement, on the other hand, provides for the direct transportation of passengers and freight on land between Turkey and Albania.

Yilmaz also called on Albanian Prime Minister Adil Carcani today. He gave him a message of goodwill from Prime Minister Turgut Ozal inviting Carcani to visit Turkey. In a statement, Carcani said that he accepted the invitation with pleasure and expressed the Albanian people's great affection for the Turkish people and their leader Ataturk. He added that the promotion of cooperation between the two countries will contribute to cooperation in the Balkans. Explaining that his country is in the process of achieving its economic development by using its own resources, he said that institutions and businessmen of the two countries should come together to seek ways of economic cooperation.

Yilmaz said in turn that the friendly Turkish people and government will be proud of Carcani's visit to Turkey, his first one abroad. Yilmaz will conclude his visit to Albania on Thursday, 4 August and will return home.

Leaders Attend Embassy Reception

AU0308091488 Tirana ATA in English 0815 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Tirana, August 3 (ATA)—On occasion of the visit of the minister of foreign affairs of Turkey, Mesut Yilmaz, to Albania, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana, Teoman Surenkok, gave a reception on August 2 in the evening.

Attending the reception were the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Besnik Bekteshi; the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile; the minister of transports, Luan Babameto; the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci; the minister of agriculture, Themie Thomai; the minister of light industry, Vito Kapo; the chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts, Alfred Uci; the president of the Academy of Sciences, Prof Aleks Buda; chairman of the Writers' and Artists' League, Dritero Agolli; functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other ministries, of the central institutions in the capital, and other invitees.

Present were also heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Balkan Air Plane Crashes Near Sofia
AU0208184588 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 2 Aug 88

["Aircraft Crash"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 2 (BTA)—At 1729 hrs local time today, a Balkan Bulgarian airlines Yak-40 plane, which had to carry out a scheduled flight from Sofia to Varna, crashed at take-off near Sofia airport.

The plane carried 33 passengers and four crew. Fourteen persons were hospitalized for emergency treatment. The rest were killed in the crash.

A commission of inquiry has been appointed to look into the reasons for the accident.

Ship Agency Director, Accountant Punished
AU2907195488 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Jul 88 p 2

[Excerpts] Violating the regulatory documents on economic organizations' accountability for their work, Dimitur Botsev, chief director of the Bulgarian Ship Agency "Inflot," and Anka Kaneva, chief accountant of the agency, systematically permitted part of the agency's revenues not to be included in the formation and distribution of Inflot's total income. According to the results of the inspection made by the State and People's Control Committee, almost $303,000 were not accounted for from 1982 to the present.

The leadership of the agency used this money to carry out foreign trade operations, failing to observe established procedures and contravening the requirements of the regulations. In certain cases documents containing false information were drawn up and used.

The deals, concluded incompetently and without serious thought, without proper preparation, and without first studying the state of supply and demand for sea transport, most often resulted in losses of large amounts of foreign exchange. [passage omitted]

For systematic contravention of the normative conditions and requirements for carrying out foreign trade activities, and for failure to ensure the effective expenditure of financial means, Dimitur Botsev, chief director of the agency, received a "severe reprimand" and a fine equal to three months' pay.

Anka Kaneva, chief accountant of the agency, who, with the chief director, bore the greatest responsibility for the losses, was punished by "dismissal" and being fined an amount equal to three months' pay. She failed to set up the necessary procedure for accounting for the funds and displayed lack of conscientiousness in fulfilling her official duties.

An instruction was sent to the Sofia directorate for state financial control to also investigate other officials responsible for the violations committed.

Destiny of Restructuring Tasks Reviewed
AU3107162188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Jul 88 pp 1, 2

[Editorial: "Restructuring Requires Thought, Will, and Energy From the Millions"—boldfaced passages as published]

[Text] A year has passed since the BCP Central Committee plenum was held, where the concept for the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria was approved. This was a year characterized by intense, purposeful actions, a year that concentrated the attention and concern of all Communists, all workers in Bulgaria on the fundamentally new tasks and problems.

At the July 1987 plenum the party produced the fundamental theoretical and practical postulate that the previous model of socialism in Bulgaria had exhausted its possibilities, and accordingly a new model was required for the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria.

This cardinal conclusion was reached following an in-depth analysis of the processes that had developed at the end of the seventies and beginning of the eighties.

What processes did the party and its Central Committee have in mind?

From **the international aspect** it primarily had in mind the current radical change in the development of the production forces on the basis of the scientific and technical revolution. This is a change equal in importance to a new industrial revolution, a change that fundamentally alters the subjects and tools of labor, the technologies, and the intellectual component of the production forces. At the same time it gives rise to substantial changes in the base and superstructure of society. One also bears in mind that weapons have also been created that are capable of annihilating mankind and human civilization.

We could not fail to draw the proper conclusions from these realities, nor fail to advance toward fundamentally new political decisions and practical actions. History would not forgive us if we were to allow ourselves in any way to ignore that which characterizes the modern world.

From **the domestic aspect**, our party was thinking that, throughout the period following the April 1956 plenum, the country advanced at one of the highest rates in the

world. New, modern branches were created in the economy, and foreign trade turnover sharply increased. Bulgaria opened itself wide to the world, and there was a marked increase in the people's living standard. Our native land drew level, or almost level, with the most advanced socialist states.

Notwithstanding this, in recent years certain negative phenomena and processes have developed. The Central Committee, the Politburo, and the general secretary not only confirmed the existence of these phenomena and processes, but also candidly pointed out the dangers that would ensue if we failed to take measures to overcome them.

Such a conclusion was reached regarding the economy as far back as at the December 1982 plenum of the BCP Central Committee. The issue of alarming phenomena and processes, connected with the decline in the fund yield, the fall in the growth of social labor productivity, the rise in subsidies, the rates of modernization and renewal of the production funds, and so on, was sharply brought into focus.

Again, such a conclusion was reached in 1982 regarding the problems that had arisen in labor relations, in the development of socialist democracy, and concerning increasing the role of the labor collectives and socialist workers in management. Accordingly, a new Labor Code was drafted.

Such a conclusion was drawn in important party documents in 1985 regarding such negative phenomena as theft, violation of the laws, and lack of principle in the work of the party, state, and social organs, and so on.

Thus, the party took into account and made a timely analysis of all these negative phenomena and processes even prior to the July 1987 plenum, and this was not all. Even then, it mapped out and implemented important practical measures. Thanks to this, a number of these processes were brought under control, and did not reach the stage of causing socioeconomic and political shocks.

However, most of the problems that had come to a head still remained.

The main thing is that, through its intensive theoretical and practical work, the party sought and found an answer to the main problem, namely, how is socialist society in Bulgaria to further develop in accordance with the new historical realities. Following the 13th BCP Congress and the July 1987 plenum, the party concentrated its attention on creating the prerequisites for a complete renewal of our social life and for raising socialism to a qualitatively new state. In this way the idea was born of a new model for our socialist society, of the need for revolutionary restructuring of all spheres of society.

This restructuring cannot be developed on the basis of the views, postulates, and approaches that were appropriate for past stages. It demanded a new concept for the further development of our socialist society, one that went down to the roots of things. The party adopted such a concept, in pointing to the need to further develop and put into specific form the program adopted at the 10th BCP Congress in 1971.

With all this, the July 1987 plenum has entered the history of the party and the country as a new vivid expression of political and moral responsibility for Bulgaria's fate, accepted by the party of Blagoev and Dimitrov, as an expression of the will and courage to make an unflinching analysis of the realities, and as an example of farsightedness in formulating the goals whose implementation will lift our native land to new heights.

The concepts of "July plenum," "July Concept," and "July model" have firmly and lastingly entered the people's consciousness. The revolutionary renewal of the whole of society, restructuring of the economy, social sphere, and intellectual sphere, restructuring of thought and actions—all this is becoming the center of our attention:

—From **the strategic aspect**, we set ourselves the goal of achieving a level of socialism in Bulgaria that characterizes it as a highly developed society, one that is vital, open to everything new, capable of providing a rich material life and intellectual flowering, and able to implement to the maximum the principles of humanity and justices, of man's free and comprehensive development;

—from **the economic aspect**, we set the goal of restructuring the material-technical base on the foundation of the scientific and technical revolution, build up production forces of a new type, and take our worthy place in the international division of labor;

—from **the social aspect**, we aim to form new social communities in Bulgaria, create conditions for a high living standard and for meeting the material, social, and intellectual needs of the individual, in conformity with the continuously growing demands;

—from **the political aspect**, we set the goal of deep democratization of our society through the millions of people assuming power and developing on this basis, or, according to Lenin's words, of a transition toward "true popular self-management"; and

—from **the international aspect**, we set the goal of increasing our contribution to developing and consolidating world socialism; of a new stage in the fraternal friendship and cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries; and of enhancing, according to our possibilities, our contribution in the struggle for mankind's survival.

Accordingly, we are speaking of a socialism that is in a state of continuous dynamics and development toward new, more progressive forms and methods of functioning. **We are speaking of a socialism that increasingly places man at the center.** We are speaking of a socialism that boldly and uncompromisingly rids itself of all that is old and holds back its development, that reveals its advantages in the material, social, and intellectual respects.

We give priority to those principles that are fundamental for the practical implementation of the July Concept. They are very well known, and concern the following:

—development of socialist property;

—socialist self-management;

—democratic centralism and the strategic role of the state under the conditions of self-management;

—the BCP's guiding and directing role; and

—on the basis of these principles, carrying out a simultaneous restructuring of the economy and the political system.

To develop a clear strategy is an extremely difficult and important task. However, this, so to speak, is only the first step for the real advance for renewing socialist society in Bulgaria. For this reason, the value of what was achieved at the July 1987 plenum is defined not only by the importance of the document adopted, but also by the mood of accord and organization created for speedily adopting major decisions that mark the start of the revolutionary restructuring.

A single year is a mere instant in human history, yet for the Bulgarian people this year was a time of serious and solid steps forward that created a broad front for the universal advance on the road of restructuring:

—In the economy, socialist self-managing organizations were set up.

—The municipal people's councils were formed as organs of territorial self-management. The oblast people's councils handle only those problems that are handed over to them by the municipal councils. Thus, for the first time, the hierarchy of power is being made subject to the principle of self-management.

—A system of economic regulators and methods of management was drawn up that marked the start of the work on forming the necessary set of tools for management and leadership.

—A very important decision was adopted on the attributes of power, a decision to do away with certain privileges.

—A package of documents was drawn up for restructuring in the intellectual sphere, and these documents have just been approved by the recent plenum of the BCP Central Committee. As is known, congresses of science, culture, and education will be held.

—The restructuring of the social organizations, namely, the trade unions, Komsomol, and Fatherland Front, has begun.

—Restructuring is being prepared in the apparatus of the BCP Central Committee, and the oblast and municipal BCP committees were set up in accordance with the requirements of the present stage.

—A start has been made on placing the installations of socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives. This implies handing over power, power, and still more power to the people, to the direct creators in the material and the intellectual spheres. This revolutionary act is being implemented for the first time in our history.

—In this new situation, a substantial increase in the rates of economic growth is evident. There are signs of increased activity in agriculture. The positive tendencies in the first half of the year create new preconditions. On the basis of these achievements it has become possible to increase the wages of category 1 workers from 1 July.

—Restructuring in the health care sphere is about to take place.

The implementation of these and a number of other measures has a clear goal, namely, to confirm the principles of revolutionary restructuring, to make a gradual transition from power in the name of the people to power through the people, to expand self-management everywhere, and to stimulate people's initiative and energy to achieve even more effective results; for the meaning of the efforts made by each person lies not in idly talking about restructuring, not in the ability to swear oaths of allegiance to restructuring, but in the direct contribution to implementing the great aims; for only greater quantities of better-quality and more varied goods, for example, can serve as a good testimonial for the army of workers in material production; for greater numbers of better-quality and more inexpensive apartments must form the criterion for making a material and moral assessment of the thousands-strong army of builders; for the only correct approach for assessing the work of the collective and individual everywhere is and should be this: What has been achieved through the reorganization carried out, and how have style, thinking, and actions improved?

Of course, one cannot demand nor expect quick and easy results in all these sectors in a single year.

The process of restructuring that we have begun is no easy one. It is not easy because one has to combat long established stereotypes in the thinking and action of the cadres and the working people. It is not easy because no similar experience is available, because one has "to sever the ties," find unusual and nonstandard solutions, take reasonable risks, and not shirk serious clashes with outlived and conservative phenomena and ideas. It is not easy because one is not speaking about changes here and there, but about a total revolutionary restructuring that literally affects the present and future of everyone, of our native land.

The party's criteria, developed from the July Concept, are stringent. With regard to these criteria, we cannot help but be worried by a number of facts, and not merely worried—in quite a number of cases one should feel serious alarm. What are we talking about?

Perhaps the chief point is that as yet the new structures in the economy and the territorial communities have not been implemented by effective action. There exists a completely unjustified "wait and see" attitude, a slavish adherence to old ideas and habits. The role and importance of such an act as the placing of socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives are underestimated, so is the profound political and economic meaning of this act; no changes are taking place in the approach to the problems, and there is a lack of decisive, positive changes in the style and methods of work. The principles of self-management, the transition to economic accountability, and the development of the piecework system for organizing and remunerating labor are being established only slowly. Difficulties are being encountered in giving up leveling practices in paying wages. In disbanding the former okrug bodies and units, we did not ensure the transfer of specialists to the sectors where they were needed most—and even then office jobs are the most sought after. In some places people understood restructuring to mean finding themselves nice jobs and settling down in splendid offices.

One cannot fail to point out that a concrete understanding of the essence of restructuring is still absent at two crucial levels: the labor collective and the individual. So far the majority of the collectives have no clear idea about what exactly restructuring means for them, with regard to directions of work, rates, methods, and so on. Even less has been done to make it clear to every worker where his individual place lies in the renewal processes. This is why the discussions have been so general on this subject, and why the appeals made at meetings and gatherings are still couched in such general terms. Now, when the chief goal is to put the July Concept into practice, one must open the way wide for glasnost, boldly tackle the problems, listen to the voice of the people, and set man in the center of things as the subject of restructuring and its direct motivating force.

Of course, one cannot expect the profound essence of the July Concept to be quickly mastered by the millions and become their internal conviction, a motive for action. However, one cannot fail to state that the delay of this process has negative consequences. It is necessary, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed, for restructuring to become a vital cause, the destiny of every worker in our society. This was stated with particular force and cogency at both the recent plenums and the BCP National Conference. The cause of the millions, the cause of everyone—this is the only true formula that contains in itself the prerequisite for the success of the July Concept.

It is evident that from now on we must concentrate our attention on all participants in this process, in order to involve all sections of the people in it. From now on restructuring will develop in breadth and depth. Much still lies ahead—the renewal must also lead to changes in the Constitution, to the creation of a number of new laws and normative documents, and to the further improvement of our state as a socialist state based on law.

The renewal of the legal superstructure will enrich and create new guarantees for the social, political, and civic rights of every member of society and for developing the processes of democratization in all spheres of life. [sentence as published] The restructuring of the political and legal superstructure will be a school for everyone, and a strong factor for further consolidating the unity of all working people around the party's policy.

The dynamics of real life are such that a new strategy for developing the productive forces in Bulgaria is already being drawn up. The main element in this strategy is intellectualization based on a synthesis of science, information processing, and the computer. It stems from the principles and tasks of the new model of socialism, and will bring about an increase in society's intellectual energy. On this basis, our economy will have to give priority to the manufacture of products for creating technologies, processing equipment, and technological systems.

The BCP spearheads the renewal processes in our society. The bold rejection by the July 1987 Plenum of the postulate that the party is a "stage" in the hierarchy of state power severed one of the ties that constrained our development. Naturally, this does not imply disregard of the BCP's leading role in implementing the new model of socialism and restructuring in all spheres of life. Quite the converse, the party has a crucial role to play in the success of this revolutionary cause. From this stem its qualitative new responsibilities:

—responsibility for the political and ideological purposefulness and maturity of the social processes and our forward progress;

—responsibility for the scientific foundations of our forward progress, a historic responsibility for the destiny of socialism on Bulgarian soil; and

—responsibility for the high moral level, education, and fulfillment of the cadres, for the growth of every man and the whole of society.

The July Concept represents a theoretical summing up of previous experience and is our very own, Bulgarian model for the further building of socialism. It is not, and cannot be regarded as a fully complete view; it must be enriched, and the efforts of our scientific front and our social sciences must be primarily directed toward this purpose. The past year, let us hope, was filled to the brim with a "maturing of ideas," ideas which in the near future we will be able to see published in the press or in separate books. The theoretical interpretation of the new, analyses, forecasts, alternatives, and recommendations are vitally necessary for our forward progress. Bulgarian sociologists now have a great chance to prove their inventiveness, ability in critical analysis, and skill in putting forward new ideas and proposals.

The decisions of the July 1987 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee will be unswervingly put into practice, because this is the only correct path for the further building of socialism in our country. A guarantee for this is the determination of the party, which correctly defines the directions, leads the people, and reinforces its own leading and guiding role under the new conditions. A guarantee for this is the people's deep belief in the chosen course, and further guarantees are provided by our workers class, agricultural workers, and people's intelligentsia. We rejoice in the fundamental coincidence of the aims and tasks of restructuring in Bulgaria and in the USSR, we draw strength and inspiration from the renewal processes in the mighty fraternal country, so vividly demonstrated at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and follow with sympathy what is happening in the other socialist countries. Every country is resolving specific problems, but the main point is that, by the efforts and contribution of all countries, international experience of restructuring is being accumulated, and that the search is on for higher efficiency in the efforts to achieve a new qualitative state of socialism in the future.

The year following the memorable July 1987 plenum inspires new confidence that the path is true and correct, that our attention and strength are concentrated in the right direction.

The party and people will march unswervingly along this path. Success primarily depends on how far restructuring becomes the cause of the millions, a cause for their energy, will, and thought.

And this success leads us toward the lofty goal—to make the People's Republic of Bulgaria a highly developed and civilized socialist state.

Customs Duties on Presents From FRG Raised
AU0308092188 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 30-31 Jul p 2

[DPA report: "GDR Has Raised Customs Duties for Presents"]

[Text] According to the information of the Ministry for Inner-German Relations, the GDR authorities have raised the customs duties for presents, such as record players. In contrast to their promise of last November, the GDR customs authorities no longer take into account the duty-free limits when calculating the value of "technical consumer goods," the Ministry in Bonn reported. Thus every present with a higher value is subject to a tariff amounting to 60 percent of the purchase price in the FRG. The Ministry stated that the FRG was trying to ensure that the duty-free limits are taken into consideration according to the legal norms in the GDR. For the time being, people visiting the GDR should mail their respective presents to avoid the high import duties.

Krolikowski Receives USSR's Rogachev for Talks
LD0108154888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1356 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 1 Aug ADN—Dr Herbert Krolikowski, GDR state secretary and first deputy foreign minister, today received Igor A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, for a friendly talk. An exchange of views on problems of European security and disarmament took place.

In the further course of the conversation on international issues the emphasis was on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. In this connection the interlocutors welcomed the setting up and course of the informal meeting concerning a solution to the Cambodian question, and expressed their hope for a positive continuation of this process.

Youths Sentenced for Attacks on Mozambicans
AU0108202888 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Aug 88 p 5

["M.E." article: "Hostility Toward Foreigners in the GDR"]

[Excerpts] Frankfurt, 31 July—At the bezirk court of Schwarzenberg in the GDR's Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk (Chemnitz) proceedings were conducted on charges of bodily injury and hooliganism in which guest workers from Mozambique and GDR youths were involved. A report from the SED bezirk paper DIE PRESSE of 21 July, which reached the West only recently, sheds light upon a statement by Mozambican Labor Minister Aguiar Real Mazula, published 7 days earlier by the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. In reply to a question by the East Berlin paper, he expressed great satisfaction at the living and working conditions of the workers from his country in the GDR. A report to the opposite effect in a South African business newspaper had prompted this statement. [passage omitted]

A total of nine GDR citizens were sentenced by the kreis court: The instigator received 1 and ½ years of imprisonment. All verdicts are final. The public presecutor closed his report with the statement that the crimes of those convicted had caused outrage among the population in the kreis. "Hostile attitudes toward foreigners, disregard of the physical inviolability of other persons, and a demonstrative disregard of laws have no place in our society," he said.

Interior Minister Addresses Police Commanders
AU2907123188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [27 July] a conference was held in the Interior Ministry to further evaluate the sixth SED Central Committee session. It was attended by the commanders, their deputies for political work, and party secretaries of the People's Police ready units and of other garrisoned units of the Interior Ministry. In his statements, Army General Friedrich Dickel, minister of the interior and head of the German People's Police, stressed the need to continue to further increase combat strength and operational readiness. In this, emphasis must always be placed on work with the people. He conveyed thanks to the unit members for their contribution to ensuring a high level of military order and security.

During the subsequent debate, the commanders and party workers reaffirmed that they will use all their strength to fulfill the class assignment, to contribute to the further implementation of the tasks set by the 11th SED Congress, and to accomplish great performances in preparation for the 40th anniversary of the Republic.

In his concluding speech, Minister Dickel spoke about the performance increase that is objectively necessary to reliably protect the worker-peasant power. The main precondition for this is the further improvement of ideopolitical work. The upcoming party and FDJ elections will offer outstanding opportunities to mobilize all forces and achieve the required effect on the masses, the minister pointed out.

Grosz Interviewed by WASHINGTON POST Staff
LD0208133988 Budapest MTI in English 1225 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 2 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Jim Hoagland and Michael Dobbs, senior staff members of WASHINGTON POST, in the parliament, on Tuesday. He answered questions on the experience of his visit to the USA, the main directions of Hungarian socioeconomic development and concepts of international relations.

Austria Calls For Boycott of Romanian Products
AU2207092588 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Jul 88 p 2

[APA-attributed report: "OVP Youth Organization Calls For Boycott of Romanian Products"]

[Text] The Youth Organization of the Austrian People's Party [OeVP] has demanded a boycott of Romanian products in defense of the Hungarian and German national minorities in Romania.

At a press conference held in Eisenstadt on 20 July, Othmar Karas, chairman of the youth organization and parliamentary deputy, declared that the Romanian leadership "is trying to counterbalance its failures with primitive nationalism."

"Romania is an entirely European country, its inhabitants are European, and its unique village culture is an organic part of the pan-European culture. We should not look on with folded arms and allow this culture to fall victim to the crimes of a bankrupt dictatorship"—Othmar Karas said.

It was announced at the press conference that they would call upon the population in the form of leaflets to boycott Romanian products and would also organize a signature campaign in support of their movement.

Yugoslav Paper Deplores Fate of Serbs in Romania
AU2707135888 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Jul 88 p 2

[REUTER-attributed report: "Critical Article in Belgrade Newspaper—National Feelings of the Serbian Minority in Romania Officially Supressed"]

[Text] In its issue of 24 July, a prestigious newspaper in Belgrade published a strongly critical article on the oppression of the Serbian and Croatian minority in Romania and called upon the Yugoslav authorities to take a stand against the Romanianization of these national minorities. VECERNJE NOVOSTI points out that Romania has made it its official policy to supress the national feelings of the Serbian national minority and to cut their contacts with Yugoslav citizens.

According to the article, the 50,000 Serbians and the other 10,000 people of the Yugoslav national minority in Romania have been oppressed since Stalin excluded Yugoslavia from the international communist movement 40 years ago.

The newspaper blamed Romania for forcing the Yugoslav minorities to replace the Serbo-Croatian names of their village organizations with Romanian ones. The names of these villages have also been changed, the newspaper said and added:

"They have not eliminated the repressive measures taken against our national minorities at the time of breaking with the Cominform to this very day. This spring, Romania implemented its decision on making it compulsory to use the Romanian names of villages and towns inhabited by national minorities. Changing of Serbian names into Romanian began even earlier, in January 1987," and it covered the names of sports clubs and other organizations. "Bilingual signs disappeared from the front of buildings"—the paper writes and calls upon the Yugoslav authorities to take a stand against these measures in Bucharest.

Suppressing the national feelings of Yugoslav national minorities and cutting their contacts with the areas inhabited by the majority of these minorities have become official policy in Romania—the article continues.

According to the newspaper, people condemned in anti-Yugoslav show trials at the end of the forties have not been rehabilitated to this very day and their properties have not been returned.

Officials belonging to the Yugoslav national minority have recently been expelled from the Romanian parliament and very few national minority members can have public functions in their own villages.

Leaders' Cables on Cuban National Day
AU2707153188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jul 88 p 2

[Text] On the occasion of the national day of the Republic of Cuba, the day of the national uprising, and the 35th anniversary of the attack against the Moncada Barracks, MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz, and Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, sent a joint congratulatory telegram to Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba and first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba.

National Assembly President Istvan Stadinger sent a congratulatory telegram to Severo Aguirre del Cristo, acting president of the National Assembly of the Republic of Cuba.

Reportage on Denial of Passports, Hunger Strike

Official Comments

AU2707205188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jul 88 p 5

[Report on interview with Police Colonel Erno Hegyi, head of the Administrative Department at the Ministry of Interior, by Katalin Borbas: "1,666,094 Passports Which Are Valid All Over the World Have Been Issued in 6 Months—Interview With the Head of a Department at the Ministry of Interior on Reexamining Legal Disadvantages and the Hunger Strike"—date and place not given]

[Text] MAGYAR HIRLAP asked Karoly Grosz, who is now in the United States, about his opinion on the hunger strike begun by several Hungarian citizens because they were not given passports. Grosz said, among other things, that the "passports law" stipulates that people who have been convicted for any reason—that is, who are legally considered people with a record—cannot receive passports. People who have been convicted for their actions in 1956, and have not been exempted from the legal disadvantages resulting from having a record, are still among those who cannot receive passports. He added that in the spirit of a position taken by the Council of Ministers, a draft legal regulation is now being prepared to exempt people convicted for their conduct in 1956—that is, not for criminal activities—from the disadvantages resulting from having a record, like the restrictions on travel. The government thinks that after more than 30 years we should lower the curtain on the political conduct of those times and justifiably lower the lid on that era. One of the steps in accomplishing this, though not the only one, is to exempt people from its disadvantageous legal consequences. Grosz repeated this also during his talks with representatives of the Hungarian emigres in the United States, which we reported today in our article on Grosz' itinerary in New York.

Erno Hegyi is one of the people in charge of implementing the legal decree which came into effect on 1 January 1988 that regulates the issuing of passports. We asked him if there are many people who cannot get a passport because of penalties that were imposed upon them as a result of their activities in 1956.

[Hegyi] Since the passports which are valid all over the world came into effect on 1 January 1988, 1,752,927 applications have been submitted; 1,666,094 people have already received passports which are valid all over the world, and examination of the other applicants is under way. The pile-up is extensive! In addition to the 1,666,094 favorable decisions, 3,851 applications have been refused. In three quarters of the cases, having a criminal record was the only reason for refusal. We are speaking primarily about people who have been convicted for public law violations. Only in the case of a very small proportion of the people whose applications have been rejected can we speak about political reasons and, within this, the number of refusals related to penalties for activities in 1956 is negligible. As regards other applications which have been rejected, the reasons for turning them down include: neglect to pay alimony, the requirement to be under guardianship, indebtedness to the state, neglect to meet private property obligations of considerable value, being listed as a person wanted in connection with a crime, and so on.

[Borbas] Still, some of the people on a hunger strike are not considered to have a record. Why were their applications rejected?

[Hegyi] Recall: According to what we know, five people started a hunger strike on 19 July because their applications for passports had been rejected. Three additional people joined them, as they said, in solidarity; we have had no passport applications from these three people and, therefore, we cannot turn them down. However, we know that among the people whose applications we have rejected and who have resorted to going on hunger strike, there is one person who had been convicted for his activities in 1956, because of these activities he did not get a passport. This person is Jeno Fonay, who incidentally quit the hunger strike on the third day. We also rejected the passport applications of Peter Bokros, Dr Gyula Erdei, Ferenc Koszeg, and Tamas Molnar because of one of the reasons laid down in the legal decree, namely, that in the course of a previous trip abroad, they had seriously violated the laws of the Hungarian People's Republic. Although they claim that we have not specified how they did this, all of them probably know exactly what they did. We acted lawfully when, in the case of Gyula Erdei, we turned down his further application for a passport because in the course of a previous trip abroad he had requested political asylum, and when this was refused, he returned home. (One must justify a request for political asylum everywhere in the world. The fact that Erdei's request was refused also indicates how well-founded his political justifications could be.) After his return, the authorities rightfully concluded that the applicant had harmed Hungarian interests.

The three people who joined the hunger strike held at a private apartment, Dr Tibor Pakh, Robert Palinkas, and Ferenc Kelemen, do not speak about the rejection of their applications for passports. They did not join this self-inflicted strike because their citizen's rights have been violated. However, it would be profitable to note that legal proceedings for common law violations and drug abuse have been started against Robert Palinkas. For the sake of the truth, I should also say that four out of the five applicants who were rejected had submitted

an appeal against this decision through legal channels, and they started their hunger strike although they have not yet received an answer to their appeal.

Daily Examines Strikers' Case

LD0208110888 Budapest MTI in English 0930 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 2 (MTI)—As reported, during the American trip of Karoly Grosz a few Hungarian citizens went on a hunger strike in Budapest because of having been refused a passport. An article in Tuesday's "MAGYAR HIRLAP" examines the background and consequences of the demonstration which ended on July 27.

The newspaper reports that the protesters sent a statement to the editorial office, saying that their aim to call attention to the arbitrary obstruction of travels abroad has been achieved. In their interpretation of the prime minister's statement the relevant legal rules will be reconsidered, and they regard it as a result that the head of party and government promised to eliminate the prejudices affecting former 1956 convicts. The protesters agree with him that this is only the first step in the field, and all prejudices should be abolished against those convicts. On the other hand, they continue to object to the practice of judging passport applications and failure to give concrete reasons in the rejecting decision. The routine that the appeal against the police rejection is revised by the police may also be a source of arbitrary decision.

One of the demands of the strikers, general in character but highly practical, was that the police rejection should not be supervised by the police. With this, they wanted to rule out the possibility of arbitrary action, the newspaper says and interviews a member of parliament who also disapproved, in the parliamentary committee debate on the law decree, of the practice that the rejection of the passport application is revised by a body of state administration and called for providing resort to the court in such cases. However, as he says to "MAGYAR HIRLAP", the other deputies did not accept this concept. [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0430 GMT ON 2 August carries a report which identifies the parliamentary official as Dr Frigyes Tallossy, National Assembly deputy for Budapest].

The competent Interior Ministry official says in the newspaper that the passport affair of three strikers has not yet been settled. In his opinion, the controversial or insufficient regulation of issues stems from the present economic and social tensions. He says that the hunger strike, an unusual form of expression of opinion, was not prevented because there is no official intervention as long as the action remains within the frames of the effective legal rules. Concerning the relevant guarantees, the official pointed out that currently preparations are under way for draftinfg the association and assembly laws. The law will obviously also determine what kind of demonstrations can be organized by citizens and for what ends. This means that if a demonstration is legal in respect of form and content alike, there will be no reason for intervention.

As far as the justification of passport rejections is concerned, the Interior Ministry official admits that its formulation gives some reason for misundertanding in respect of the importance and measure of the law violation brought up as the cause of rejecting passport. This has to be decided by the court.

With this, "MAGYAR HIRLAP" states in conclusion, the conversation returns to one of the original questions. The indirect answer is also seen in the above opinions: Law interpretation is the responsibility of the court.

Passport Refusals Reviewed

AU0208134888 Paris AFP in English 1324 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Vienna, Aug 2 (AFP)—Hungary may reconsider its refusal to issue passports to people involved in the 1956 uprising against the Communist leadership, a senior government official said in an interview published Tuesday.

The weekly OETLET (IDEAS) quoted Gyula Borics, secretary of state to the Justice Ministry, as saying "representatives of the Justice and Interior Ministries, as well as the prosecutor for Hungary's Supreme Court, met recently to coordinate their ideas" on the subject.

"The time is ripe to review the legislation" regarding this matter, Mr. Borics said.

Passports have been refused to participants in the 1956 uprising despite a government decision January 1 to ease restrictions on foreign travel.

Mr. Borics said he did not know how many people had been denied passports over the issue.

Official statistics published late last month showed 3,851 of the 1,666,094 passport requests made between January 1 and July 31 were refused.

The government said three-quarters of the denials were because the applicants had a "criminal history", while the others were "for political reasons."

Several Hungarian intellectuals staged a hunger strike for a few days in July to protest against authorities' refusal to issue them passports.

Jeno Fonay, a member of former Hungarian leader Imre Nagy's government was among the strikers. He was sentenced to death after the Soviet Union helped crush the Hungarian uprising and overthrow Mr. Nagy's government in 1956.

Draft Law on Association, Assembly Described

LD2607161088 Budapest MTI in English 1300 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 26 (MTI)—The Hungarian Ministry of Justice has started preparations for drafting laws of conscience, religion, minority rights and a local and nationwide referendum. The association and assembly laws are shortly to be discussed in public. The Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic stipulates that the basic civic rights and duties have to be guaranteed by law.

The idea of the association law has been raised by the increasing importance of citizen's participation in the accomplishment of tasks facing Hungarian society today.

Under the future law, citizens will be allowed to set up social organizations with minimum 1,000 members or associations with minimum 810 members according to their intentions and affiliation to the system of political institutions. The law will determine the framework of foundation in accordance with the international convention, namely that the practising of the association law should not violate the security of the state, public security, law and order, and public morality, and should not be detrimental to public health and other people's liberties.

Practising the right of assembly will cover the organization of peaceful meetings, rallies, demonstrations and other events, where the participants can freely express their opinions and formulate a common stand and submit to state and other organizations. The relevant bill attaches the holding of certain events to previous announcement including date, venue, purpose, agenda, number of participants and the names of persons entitled to represent the organizers. The holding of an event can be officially forbidden only in cases stipulated by the law, and the organizers will be free to appeal to the court against the prohibition.

The bill does not apply to ceremonies of officially recognized religious denominations, cultural programmes, sport and family events. Accordingly, other events will have to be announced only if to be held on public territory or public building and the number of participants exceeds 200.

The regulation is first of all aimed at enabling citizens to practise the rights of association and assembly.

Ministers Council Discusses Socioeconomic Issues

LD2807204988 Budapest MTI in English 1835 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 28 (MTI)—The Hungarian Council of Ministers met in session on Thursday. Following the session, the spokesman of the government said that the Council of Ministers discussed a draft on the introduction of deposit bills and decided to put it forward to the presidential council. In reply to a question, the spokesman said that the deposit bill would be a mid-term security, differing from the long-term bonds and short-term treasury bills in their expiry. From the aspects of expiry, nominal value and interest, the deposit bills will be flexible securities, constituting the first step towards removing the barriers separating the banking relations of the individuals and economic organizations. The banks will be entitled to issue deposit bills both for individuals and legal persons, and the bills will be freely transferable and marketable.

The Council of Ministers discussed the July 26 letter of the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) in which the unions expounded their opinion on economic and welfare policy issues. The spokesman said that the Council of Ministers invariably held the position that the most important economic policy issues should be discussed with the SZOT, and the consultations should focus on the major economic, living standard, price, wage and welfare policy issues.

The spokesman enumerated the recent measures aimed at attaining the fundamental economic policy aims of the government. He said that the majority of the measures improving the state of the budget and the balance of payments imposed restrictions on the enterprises and affected the population less directly. The recent increase in petrol and gas fuel prices imposed a burden of 1,100 million forints on the individuals and its indirect effects might raise this burden to 2,000 million forints. All this, together with the devaluation of the forint, have increased the consumer price level by 0.5 to 1 per cent. The growing interests of the loans granted for the individuals involve a burden of 800 million forints. The additional incomes of the population resulting from the increasing interests on the savings deposits amount to 4,800 million forints.

The government sought to choose the unavoidable price increases in a way that they should not raise social-welfare problems. Taking both the excessive price rises and the additional incomes of the population into account, real wages and real incomes will remain on the planned level, the spokesman said.

In their latest sessions the Council of Ministers and the committee of economic planning coordinated with the trade unions their standpoint on the economic situation and the main directions of the required measures. Therefore it is not necessary to hold a consultation and ask for comments in each case, the price measures cannot be made dependent on the outcome of coordination between the government and the unions. At the same time appropriate harmony is required between the trade unions and the government on issues determining real wages, real incomes and the living standard.

According to the current prognoses, the consumer price level will increase by about 17 per cent this year. The

government is ready to discuss with the SZOT representatives the expected trends in prices and incomes, and the economic, wage and social-welfare policy tasks at issue.

In reply to a question on the unemployment benefit, the spokesman said that some experts proposed to fix it at about 3,000 forints, corresponding to the lowest wage and subsistence level, while others would hold a higher sum desirable. The unemployment benefit would be granted from the already existing employment fund. This fund, however, should be raised from the annual 1,200 billion forints to 2,500-3,000 million.

Replying to a question on the work of the institution for public opinion polls, Rezso Banyasz said: After the July session of the HSWP CC the institute made a poll in Budapest on both items of the agenda. Asked about the economic policy versions discussed by the Central Committee, the majority of those asked opted for the more radical changes, and one third for more moderate ones. The first group included first of all young and middle-people of higher qualification, active earners, professionals and party members. The majority agreed with the principles of the planned laws on assembly and association but the opinions differed on some details. More than half of those asked supported freedom of assembly and expression on condition that both the citizens and the authorities remain within the legal frames. This opinion was represented more emphatically by the middle-aged, the party members and the politically best-informed people. One third of those asked, mainly the youth, supported the principles of the rights of assembly and expression but regarded the planned restrictions as exaggerated. It deserves attention that three quarters of those asked held it necessary to ban all assemblies, demonstrations and associations that violate the socialist social system. Almost everyone agreed with the general principle that any association which is not forbidden by law should be licensed.

At the end of the press conference Rezso Banyasz said that he met the representatives of the press for the last time in his capacity as a spokesman.

State Leaders To Get Special Pensions

LD2807172088 Budapest MTI in English 1342 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, 28 July, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—In recent days the Hungarian Government passed a decision on a special regulation of the pensions of state leaders. From now on, senior members of the Presidential Council, parliament and the government will receive a monthly pension that is identical with the net monthly salary paid to the person in the same position of the time. Currently that is about FT 40,000 (USD 750 to 800). This is a net sum, from which no deductions are made.

These problems will not be covered by annual pension increases because their special pension will follow changes in the pay of the state leaders of the time. A peculiar feature of this rule is that a leader will be entitled to this type of pension even if he retired from another post. For instance, this covers former prime ministers as well. The information was taken from Thursday's issue of the weekly "HETI VILAGGAZDASAG".

It is difficult to decide or appreciate the average pension because most retired people left active work 8 to 10 years ago, and their pension being low decreases the average figure. People retiring now usually get between 4,000 and 5,000 forints (USD 80).

When the sum of the pension is decided, the best three years are taken out of the last five years. After 42 years of service a pensioner is entitled to 75 per cent of the average of the best three years. Provided this sum would exceed 10,000 forints, the above percentage is regressively decreased. People with a shorter service get a pension reduced by half a per cent by every year.

Besides, there is a plan to reform the whole pension system, most of the limitations are expected to be dismantled and inflation also taken into consideration.

Jaruzelski Interviewed on Relations With U.S.
LD0208093388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] USA TODAY daily has published an interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Asked about Polish-U.S. relations, the general replied that they have undergone an improvement, but progress is a bit slow. The daily stresses that in comparison with the seventies trade exchange has fallen by 80 percent. In the opinion of General Jaruzelski, the new administration ought to increase its interest in economic cooperation with Poland.

The five journalists who conducted the interview were interested in the place of Poland in relations between East and West, the interdependence of reforms in Poland and the Soviet Union, and the popularity of President Reagan in Poland. In answer to this last question, Gen Jaruzelski said that President Reagan is generally known, but, as public opinion research shows, the most popular figures from the world stage are Mikhail Gorbachev and Pope John Paul II.

Olechowski Discusses Importance of U.S. Trip
AU0308083388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30-31 Jul 88 p 9

[Interview with Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski by Zygmunt Broniarek: "Interview for TRYBUNA LUDU"—Washington, 29 July]

[Text] Broniarek: Your visit to the United States as foreign minister is the first such visit for 9 years. What is the importance of your visit?

Olechowski: My visit is one of the important steps to restore normal Polish-U.S. relations. The first step was the meeting between Jan Kinast who met with Deputy Secretary of State Mrs Ridgway in Vienna in the fall of 1986. J. Kinast, who was vice minister of foreign affairs at that time, is now ambassador to the United States. This was followed by visits to the U.S. by J. Czyrek, R. Malinowski, W. Gwiazda, and Vice Premier Z. Sadowski and by visits to Poland by Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead and, of course, Vice President George Bush. I wish to stress G. Whitehead's two visits, because he deals with daily relations with the socialist countries, including Poland. I briefly met with him at the Potsdam conference of Eastern and Western politicians. All these contacts show that the dialogue with the U.S. Government covers a wide range of political and economic issues and proves that the normalization of our relations with the United States has made considerable progress.

Broniarek: Your U.S. visit was in two parts: New York and Washington. How do you see each part?

Olechowski: In New York I had talks with various U.S. personalities and with Polonia representatives, including those whose views greatly differ from ours. In the Foreign Policy Association, I discussed Poland's role and place in East-West relations and our efforts to reduce armaments and to increase confidence in Europe. My meetings with businessmen, including David Rockefeller, were an important feature of my New York visit. I also had talks with Mayor Edward Koch and representatives of the Jewish community, especially with Edgar Bronfman, chairman of the World Jewish Congress.

Broniarek: You had important talks in Washington with Vice President Bush, Secretary of State Shultz, Mr Whitehead, congressmen, senators, as well as with the World Bank and the IMF. Has the U.S. side welcomed our changes, especially socialist pluralism, because the term "pluralism" is the "in" word here?

Olechowski: I should think so. Considerable changes continue to occur in the thinking about Poland. The recognition of the fact that, in U.S. parlance, Poland is one of the most "liberal" socialist countries, is gaining currency here. Still, efforts will have to be made to win over some circles. But, the tendency is good and positive, and it is certain that no one questions the sincerity of our intentions. People here appreciate the processes such as the dialogue with the Catholic Church, freedom of discussion in the mass media, the fact that Poles may travel to the West, and so on.

Broniarek: Will these features be reflected in Polish-U.S. economic relations?

Olechowski: We have to be cautious in this regard, because these relations are perhaps the most difficult issue, but I think we are on to a good thing. The conviction is spreading that Europe and the world need a Poland that is a stable country with a favorably developing economy and that is internally in accord, although its thinking is pluralistic. If this conviction, as many signs indicate, prevails in all U.S. decisionmaking centers, new prospects will open for us, but we must make intensive efforts to this end. I think that the visit made by me and my aides has helped to strengthen this conviction.

Meeting Targets Economic Cooperation With FRG
LD2906091188 Warsaw PAP in English 2014 GMT 28 Jun 88

[By PAP Correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Hamburg, June 28—The FRG Minister of Economics, Martin Bangemann, and Poland's Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda presided over a meeting of a mixed Polish-FRG Government Commission for Economic Cooperation which was held here today.

The meeting evaluated overall economic and financial cooperation between Poland and the FRG. It pointed to problems the solution of which would create appropriate conditions for the development of mutual economic relations such as the settlement of Poland's debt owed to the FRG and the FRG's participation in the modernization and reconstruction of the Polish economy.

A protocol from the session points to both sides' will to strive for a possibly fast and satisfactory solution to these problems.

The commission discussed both countries cooperation in agriculture and the food economy and specified areas which will be the subject of cooperation in the coming years. This will be aided by a joint agricultural consortium.

The protocol points to the particular significance of co-production which is to boost Poland's proexport production.

"Both sides see further possibilities of intensifying bilateral relations," states the protocol.

The downward trend of the trade exchange between both countries in 1986 was also present last year though on a smaller scale.

As far as the quotas set for Polish exports to the FRG are concerned the FRG side said that it "will continue to friendly review [as received], Poland's wishes and undertake efforts so that the European Community's trade policy appropriately takes into account the interests of bilateral trade exchange" between the FRG and Poland.

The Polish side reiterated its stand on the debt issue that a way out must be sought through setting a rational level of the interest paid on the whole of the guaranteed debt and that it be adjusted to current market interest rates.

During a press conference Deputy Premier Szalajda said that Poland wishes to meet its financial obligations but at fair interest rates and on the basis of a long-term rescheduling of the debt so that a part of the capital received could be used to modernize the Polish economy.

It follows from the protocol that the hosts of today's meeting showed understanding for this motion and promised to act in this spirit in the Paris Club.

The sides received with satisfaction both governments' readiness to quickly conclude work on an agreement on scientific-technological cooperation and expressed the hope that an appropriate agreement on the protection of the natural environment would be signed as soon as possible.

The sides agreed that the next meeting of the mixed government commission will be held in Warsaw in May 1989.

Siwicki Receives Romanian Army Delegation

AU0108141588 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Jul 88 p 1

[Report signed 'F.A.': "The Minister of National Defense Received a Delegation from the Higher Political Council of the Romanian Armed Forces"]

[Text] On 28 July, General Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo member and minister of national defense, received a delegation from the Higher Political Council of the Armed Forces of the Socialist Republic of Romania, headed by Lieutenant-General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense and secretary of the Higher Political Council.

In a friendly talk, both sides briefed each other on the current political, economic, and social problems in our countries and exchanged views about basic issues in international affairs, with particular reference to the detente and disarmament processes on our continent. They underscored the significance of contacts which serve to consolidate the socialist defense community. A lot of attention was devoted to the role and tasks of the armed forces in the mainstream of socioeconomic transformations in Romania and Poland.

The meeting was also attended by General of Division Tadeusz Szacilo, head of the Polish Army Main Political Administration; and Romanian Ambassador Ion Tesu.

Maciszewski Interviewed on 'Blank Spots'

AU0108162888 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30-31 Jul pp 1, 3

[Interview with Professor Jarema Maciszewski, rector of the Polish Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Polish side of the Polish-Soviet Historical Commission, by Andrzej Jurczysnki: History Is Living Memory"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Jurczynski] Science resents undertones. In the case of history, these give rise to myths, which replace historical truth in the minds of people.

[Maciszewski] That is not quite the case. Myths are formed regardless of the historical truth, and one of the tasks of historical science is to separate the myths from the truth. However, and this is something I do for my own sake, one has to distinguish between myths on the one hand, and legends that are positive on the other. Certain historical facts turn into legends or become

legends. Such legends are often beautiful, and provide a constructive factor in historical education, sometimes taking the place of knowledge about the past. [passage omitted]

[Jurczynski] It is myths and undertones that give rise to, among other things, blank spots....

[Maciszewski] Blank spots are a mental shortcut. I divide them into two categories. The first involves facts which are known and which, for various reasons, mainly political ones, were never revealed, according to the principle that, if you do not talk about something, it never existed. An example of this category is the 1920 Polish-Soviet war. There is not much we can say about this war that is new, but we have to bring about the situation where every Pole and Russian can go to a bookshop, buy a book about this war, and read what happened without any oversimplification and omission of inconvenient facts. One has to reveal the causes and the consequences. Similar "blank spots" have been caused by glossing over facts, including facts about personalities. Deleting a person's name from textbooks does not delete the person from history. The second category of these blank spots consists of matters that are much more complicated, matters that have never been adequately researched and which, as a result, have given rise to a false picture of history. Sometimes these blank spots were caused by simple distortion, the editing not of today's reality, but of historical reality according to the requirements of today. And it is mainly these problems that have to be resolved.

[Jurczynski] What are the blank spots that we have to explain?

[Maciszewski] Myths and prejudice have grown over the past, but so have glossed-over and distorted facts concerning Poland's relations with our eastern neighbors. On both sides of the border some historical works have been dictated by the requirements of the time. If Waclaw Sobieski's book "Zolkiewski in the Kremlin" appeared in 1920, it only did so for reconnaissance purposes, just like Kozachenko's book "The Crush of Polish Intervention at the Beginning of the 17th Century," which appeared in Moscow in the late autumn of 1939 and whose conclusion was an insult to the truth of the events of September 1939. Both these books used historical subject matter for the needs of the day. Our work, involving a close look at Poland's relations with its eastern neighbor, is not dictated by any juncture of events. It is meant to cleanse this entire subject from the accumulated propaganda, distortion, and silence. One has to reveal the entire truth, both the positive truth that is firmly rooted in our friendship today, and the difficult and tragic truth.

The list of these topics is very long. It covers the period 1917-1921, fully taking into account the Polish-Soviet war, the tragedy of the Polish Communists and the dissolution of the Polish Communist Party; the change to the nationalist policy introduced in the thirties and applied by Stalin to Polish nationals in the Ukraine and Belorussia (I have in mind the elimination of the Polish oblasts of Dzerzhinskiy in Belorussia and Marchlewski in the Ukraine); the first phase of World War II, involving an explanation of all aspects of the 23 August 1939 Soviet-German Pact; the events of 17 September and later; the 28 September pact; the policy toward the Polish people from 1939 to 1941, including an examination of the deportations and legal violations by the Stalin system of persecution; the evacuations after the Hitlerite invasion which saved many people's lives, but also caused many tragedies; the contribution of Poles to victory, the deportation of soldiers of the Home Army—this list is very long. We have nothing to hide. The Katyn atrocity is a particularly important problem, in which the whole truth needs to be revealed.

[Jurczynski] One can already say that the whole of society is counting on it that these dilemmas being resolved. However, are impatience and the wait for sensations having any bearing on the investigations themselves?

[Maciszewski] This is a problem with which I am struggling personally. The pressure is enormous. I receive dozens of letters with information and suggestions about problems to be solved, and also letters telling me to hurry up. The climate of haste, especially among journalists, definitely makes the commission's work more difficult. And yet even publishing the number of deportees calls for long, painstaking research, using Polish and Soviet sources. We are doing this together with Soviet historians. After a certain time, we will be able to publish exact figures. This task also involves the use of new sources. Soon we will complete preliminary investigations into three topics—the fate of the Polish Communist Party, the first weeks of World War II, and the deportation of the Polish population to the USSR. We are also conducting painstaking research into other spheres, including the fate of Polish officers interned in the USSR in 1939.

[Jurczynski] Cooperation between Polish and Soviet historians, the very commission itself—that is world news. How does this cooperation work?

[Maciszewski] You have seen that we are in close touch. Our interview has already been interrupted by three telephone calls, two from Moscow and one from Lvov. Together, we are undertaking research and attempting to resolve various issues, and are conducting honest debates that are not free of scientific polemics.

[Jurzczynski] But there are blank spots not just in Polish-Soviet relations.

[Maciszewski] Indeed, I think our own history contains many topics which ought to be tackled, for example the history of People's Poland (great progress has been

achieved here), Polish emigration, the London government, and Poland's relations with other countries. However, Rome was not built in a day, and the historian must have a certain distance.

[Jurczynski] To what extent does the historian take the Polish raison d'etat into account?

[Maciszewski] Not just the Polish raison d'etat, but that of every state imposes the need to speak the truth, because lies have short legs, and always bring more disadvantages than advantages.

Research Into Warsaw Uprising Continues

LD3107175588 Warsaw PAP in English
1649 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 31—"The Warsaw Uprising of 1944 has for many years been the subject of research by Polish historians," Prof. Eugeniusz Duraczynski from the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) History Institute, told PAP.

"The turning point from which serious studies of the history of the Uprising began is the 'Polish October,' 1956. Stalinist interpretations and a propaganda vulgarization of Poland's recent history were discarded then, the first Polish monographs on the Uprising appeared. Furthermore, Jan Ciechanowski's book written abroad also appeared in Poland, several works were published in the West—in France, Great Britain and the FRG. Two important publications should come out soon in Poland—Colonel Siwicki's 'The Eastern Front and the Warsaw Uprising' and Joanna Hanson's book, translated from English, entitled 'The Civilian Population in the Warsaw Uprising.'

"We already know the basic facts about the course of the fighting during the Uprising, people's attitudes, various aspects of life—both of the fighting units as well as the civilian population starting from food supplies to the health service. The least known is the political-diplomatic history of the Warsaw Uprising.

"The general issue; what place did the Uprising, after it had begun, occupy in British, American and Soviet foreign policy, still requires explanataion. Today we know the least about all of the circumstances and tenets of the Soviet policy. Even Soviet historians do not know this. Maybe, in connection with 'glasnost' some new sources might come to light," Duraczynski said.

"We are looking for the answers to several questions pertaining to the then Soviet political and military decisions. There are many suppositions but still all we have are hypotheses," Prof. Duraczynski went on.

"Colonel Siwicki used many hitherto unknown German and Soviet sources but of a military character. We are unable to answer with total certainty what caused that Stalin's directive, dated July 27th, order Soviet units to ford the Vistula and Narew Rivers and carry out an outflanking manoeuvre from their western banks, was never carried out.

"There is also no convincing answer to the question why the operation of crossing the Vistula in 1944, in which apart from units of the first Polish Army Soviet forces were also to take place, failed. The third problem which requires an explanation; we do not know what were the real initial reasons of the Soviet authorities' totally negative attitude to the so-called shuttle flights with Allied air drops for Warsaw. As late as September 10th permission for such flights was given and Soviet airfields were made available to Allied planes. In effect the Americans air dropped supplies to the city on September 18th, 1944. We are hoping that Soviet sources will help answer these questions.

"In the past there were frequent opinions (and they are sometimes voiced today) that the Warsaw Uprising, though understandable as a struggle against a hated occupier, did not have any greater practical military significance. The negative political evaluations of the Uprising's intentions manifested themselves in the will of down-playing its military role. These problems also require further research. The Uprising greatly complicated the situation for the Germans. This is evident from their sources.

"Our institute is preparing an extensive work devoted to the fate of the population expelled from Warsaw after the fall of the Uprising," Duraczynski added.

Defense Spokesman Views Alternative Service

LD2907231788 Warsaw PAP in English
2112 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—During a press conference here today the Ministry of National Defence (MON) spokesman, General Leslaw Wojtasik, said that the law on the common military duty amended on July 13th, while introducing, as of September 1st, alternative military service for draftees who, because of their religious convictions or moral principles, want to fulfill their duty in a different form than basic military training, met U.N. recommendations and those of international conventions.

The introduction of this type of service conforms with contemporary assumptions of the state's military doctrine, the current economic situation and takes into account the favourable changes in the demographic situation. At the same time, it is another confirmation of the democratization of life in Poland, respect of citizens' convictions and views, and evidence of the consistency in the policy on national reconciliation.

Alternative service performed outside the armed forces will be based on carrying out work during peacetime in specified work establishments for the protection of the environment, social welfare and the communcal or water economy.

The legislator, due to the less strenuous character of alternative service as compared to military one, assumed that alternative service will last 36 months for draftees who fall under the 24-month basic military or civil defence service, while draftees, graduates of higher schools, whose military duty lasts 12 months will serve 24 months of alternative service.

The legislator, following the procedure in force in Poland, adopted a two-stage form of proceedings in the review of draftees' motions for allocation to alternative service.

The first instance will be regional draft boards, the second—voivodship draft boards. To ensure objectivity of decisions both boards will include representatives of social factors like representatives of the presidiums of peoples' councils and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. It must be stressed that the decisions fo the voivodship draft commissions are final.

In conclusion, General Wojtasik stressed that avoidance of alternative service, just like avoidance of military service, is a crime and those responsible of infringing on the duty of defense must bear specified consequences. The fact that the state respects religious or moral convictions by agreeing to the fulfillment of military duty in a non-military form cannot eliminate the rigours which are unified in the whole system of the common duty of national defense.

Next, General Wojtasik and other military experts replied to journalists' questions.

In reply to a question on how many people may want to perform alternative service it was said that it is difficult to give precise figures. The law will come in force not earlier than September 1st. It may only be assumed that these numbers will not run into thousands.

In reply to another question on how many people have been jailed for refusing military service it was said several hundred but it is difficult to give a precise number since this number diminishes on a daily basis because of amnesty or parole.

It is worth recalling at this point that military prosecutors and organs also previously showed much good will towards people who refused to do military service for religious reasons. These people received proposals of performing alternative military duty, basic service in civil defence units and even employment in mining in order to create reasons for deferment on professional grounds. In consequence, this would lead—at an appropriate age—to being transferred to the reserve without performing any duty. Even when legal proceedings had to be instigated because of categorical refusal military prosecutors reiterated these proposals.

The possibilities created by the amended law to fulfill the common defence duty in the form of alternative service go much further than the hitherto solutions. Thus it may be hoped that they will meet with a positive reception. Hence the problem of those sentenced would disappear. And this is the intention of both the legislator and the Army.

Jaruzelski Chairs Consultative Council Session

LD2807223188 Warsaw PAP in English
1234 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 28—A session of the Consultative Council at the president of the Council of State is held under the chairmanship of Wojciech Jaruzelski at the Belvedere Palace here today [sentence as received].

The main topic of the discussion are broadly conceived problems of the protection of Poland's natural environment. A national programme for the protection of natural environment by the year 2010 is the starting point for consideration. The programme intends to subordinate Poland's development to ecological-economic principles and not only to economic ones. To reach this goal, the programme points to a set of mechanisms envisaged by the system of managing Poland to enforce respect for the needs of natural environment in the process of civilization progress.

Sadowski Attends Planning Commission Meeting

LD0907142088 Warsaw PAP in English
0027 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 8—Today's plenary meeting of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers, chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Zdzislaw Sadowski, was devoted to the draft long-term plan till the year 2000.

Members of the commission, scientists, economic and political activists referred during a discussion to the basic problems of the country's development included in the draft of a long-term plan of the country's social and economic development till the year 2000.

The implementation of that plan should permanently place Poland in the international division of labour as well as to assure the meeting of the growing social aspirations and the improvement of the state of natural environment.

The commission recognized the persistent application of the social and economic reforms as the key systemic conditions for the implementation of aims outlined in the long-term draft plan. The pace of achieving those goals will depend on the scale of progress in the transformation of the functioning of the national economy.

The draft plan, which includes the results of the discussion held during the commission's plenary meeting, will be presented in a short time to the Council of Ministers.

Messner, Miodowicz Discuss Economy
LD0907142588 Warsaw PAP in English
1905 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 8—Chairman of the Council of Ministers Zbigniew Messner met here today with President of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Alfred Miodowicz.

The two discussed development of social and economic situation as well as living conditions and standard of Poland's working people.

It was resolved that in the second half of this August the government and the OPZZ would carry a joint evaluation of economic results of the first six months of 1988 as well as of conclusions stemming from the evaluation, with a special eye to the price and income policy.

Voivodes Conference Discusses Economy
LD0208093088 Warsaw PAP in English
2210 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 1—A conference of voivodes held at the office of the Council of Ministers here today dealt with the economic results of the first half of this year, situation in house-building, internal trade, and the tasks connected with efficient harvesting campaign, that is the most important factors shaping the economic, social, and political situation of Poland. The conference was presided over by Vice-Premier Zbigniew Szalajda.

Economy in the First Half of the Year [subhead]

The first vice-chairman of the Government Planning Commission stressed that the outcome of the first six months of this year provide grounds for a prognosis that the targets of the 1988 Central Annual Plan for material production will be reached. The production is bound to grow by at least 4.5 per cent, while its growth between last January and June was 6.5 per cent.

Exports show good results. Production for foreign markets grew in the first half of this year more than twice as fast as the total industrial output. Similar growth rate has been noted in the recent years in the branches which decide on scientific and technological progress, that is, the precision, electronical, teletechnical, and computer industries. Higher production is obtained owing to increasing labour productivity and improving technological equipment in factories.

The darker sides of the first half of this year include first of all a slowed down production increase for domestic market. This rose only by 3 per cent and hopes for better supplies to Polish shops are associated with government decisions, issued last April and July, to funnel some 200 million dollars for the purchase of materials and raw materials for producers to bring about produced goods worth some 500 billion zlotys.

Results of construction industry are relatively good but this cannot still be called a breakthrough. However, this year's plan of building flats is expected to be fulfilled.

The number of new investments is still too high and measures are quite likely to cool down the investment demand of enterprises. The most difficult factor in evaluating the economic situation is the relation between prices and incomes. All prices including alcohol and tobacco products went up 51 per cent in the first half of this year and the costs of living without these two items by 41 per cent. Not a single industrial branch had a wages growth below 50 per cent, though some enterprises had lower growth rates.

Guidelines of the 1989 Central Annual Plan will be published later this month and will be subject to nationwide discussion. In October the draft plan will go under consultation with trade unions. Works are continuing on a document that will propose a correction of the national socio-economic plan and come out with the main guidelines for development and economic targets in the period 1989-1993.

Domestic Market [subhead]

Minister of Domestic Market Jerzy Jozwiak drew attention to the adverse impact exerted on the home market by incomes increase which is higher than the supplies of goods in the discussion period. The first six months saw monetary incomes of the population growing by 63.8 per cent, while the total value of goods which reached the market only by 59 per cent. Growing prices and inflation reduced the population's confidence in saving up.

Out of the 29 groups of goods included in the GUS (Main Statistical Office) reports only 14 were in greater supply during the discussed period when compared with the last year. Foods, especially those containing animal protein, were in shorter supply. Shorter supplies of sugar were caused by higher sales and depletion of reserves.

Agriculture [subhead]

Minister of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Economy Stanislaw Zieba told the conference that 900 thousand tonnes of rape and over 700 thousand tonnes of grains from this year's harvest were procured.

Poland seeks wider imports of specialistic plant protection agents and latest-design machinery permitting faster promotion of comprehensive technologies of growing grains and guaranteeing 15-30 per cent growth of the crops of wheat and barley this year.

As regards animal breeding the government's April decisions on the restoration of cattle stock and increasing the stock of milk cows will be implemented with full consistency. Sufficient amounts of fodder amassed by farmers especially by way of appropriate utilization of the promising potato crops, will be vital in backing up the development trends in pig breeding. The growth of the number of pigs recorded last June augurs higher procurement of slaughter pigs in the fourth quarter of this year.

Szalajda on Reforming Economy [subhead]

The conference was summed up by Vice-Premier Zbigniew Szalajda who stressed that major measures, mapped out by PUWP CC and the Sejm, have been undertaken to radicalise the economic reform this year. There is, however, a real threat that the process of reforms may be obscured in the public opinion by persisting and in some cases deteriorating market balance. Shortages arouse justified dissatisfaction that reduces public support for the reform.

There are objective—like the foreign debt—and subjective causes of the imbalance. The latter must be unconditionally removed. Szalajda said that fixing a list of goods which have to be always in shops would do much good to the market. The vice premier referred to the problems of municipal economy and the financing of industrial enterprises. He voiced an opinion that shortage of means, suffered innocently by part of the enterprises, could be solved also by sticking to the principle of difficult money. He said the government would consider these questions in the nearest time.

The vice-premier also discussed the course of government works on further reforming of the economy and the draft Central Annual Plan for 1989. He said conclusions drawn from the positive and negative phenomena which occurred this ear, especially in the field of price-incomes policy, will be used in these works.

Szalajda informed the voivodes about qualitative changes, favourable for Poland, in the economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Poland, which have been developed during the preparations for the visit of CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to this country and accepted during the visit.

Ciosek Views Elections, New Constitution

LD0907042188 Warsaw PAP in English 1403 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 8—Evaluation of recent elections to people's councils, official attitude towards political opposition in Poland, and does Poland need a new constitution,—these were the major problems discussed at today's press conference of PUWP CC Political Bureau alternate member and General Secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) Stanislaw Ciosek.

People's Councils Elections [subhead]

In our political system, we must find room for environs and people who think along other lines than the authorities, Stanislaw Ciosek told the conference. Together with those people and environs, we are searching for adequate solutions. Works continue on the law on associations as well as on a future model of the state and the party. I believe that we shall find a model which will guarantee to socialism that broader forces than hitherto have influence upon governing the state.

Ways to express opinions other than those of the authorities in Poland are numerous and are constantly developed. They are not, nonetheless, sufficient, Stanislaw Ciosek declared.

We do not envisage founding opposition political parties, said next the PRON general secretary. Nevertheless we envisage a possibility to organize public opinion, and also in categories of expressing political views, in a way broader than hertofore.

We are no different from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in this respect. We are operating in a way similar to that employed by our Soviet comrades who announced at the 19th conference greater influence of their society upon the course of political, economic and social events, said Stanislaw Ciosek.

Do We Need New Constitution [subhead]

The Constitution currently in force is sort of out-dated, said Stanislaw Ciosek, since revolutionary transformations are progressing and it is evident that Poland needs a new constitution. Works on it are under way.

Stanislaw Ciosek replied also to questions pertaining to the so-called anti-crisis pact. He stressed that the pact could not be a document signed by the party, the church and by representatives of the opposition for this did not guarantee its being approved by broad masses of the population.

The anti-crisis pact would be by its nature a pact concerning sacrifices and not distribution of successes. Success would be brought about as a result of the pact's operation, and sacrifice must be the first stage here, Ciosek said.

We are not excluding any names here, he added further. We just exclude protagonists of the theory "the worse, the better." We exclude opinions and behaviours and not people.

Academic Examines Idea of Anti-Crisis Pact

PM0208084588 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 16-17 Jul 88 p 3

[Commentary by Dr Stanislaw Dabrowski, director of the Wroclaw University Institute of Political Sciences: "Democracy Does Not Follow From Multitude of Structures: Does Poland Need an Anticrisis Pact?"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] As we announced earlier, our editors have asked many representatives of Wroclaw's academic and artistic circles, intellectuals, and persons widely renowned as scientific and moral authorities to give us their answers to two questions: Does Poland need an anticrisis pact, and is such a pact possible?

Today we publish a commentary on these issues by Dr Stanislaw Dabrowski, director of the Wroclaw University Institute of Political Sciences. The title of the article has been added by our editors.

There are several problems involved in the question whether we need an anticrisis pact. The main ones are its objective, the kind of hopes that should be placed in a "formation" of that kind, its composition, structure, and political orientation, and the positions and political orientations of its members. The question of the correlation between the positions of the partners bound together by an "anticrisis pact" is, of course, of paramount importance. At the moment these problems remain within the realm of theory because the "pact" we are discussing here is not even a clear concept: It is still only a roughly outlined proposal. Its aim appears to be obvious. The idea is simply to mobilize the effort of the whole nation to harness it for operations designed to improve the economic, political, and cultural and educational situation of our state and our society. It is a traditional proposal which has been invoked very many times in recent years. Moreover, we have been aware for a long time of the necessary preconditions for its realization. To put it in general terms, its realization depends on according society nonsubordinate status in politics in the fullest sense of the term. The public must feel that it decides everything that happens in the state.

Society's nonsubordinate political status and democracy are, in fact, synonymous concepts. They are both very far-reaching in their application. This embraces all areas of our public life and the life of the state. And so it involves not only the electoral system and procedures for appointing representative or self-government bodies, but also the sphere of political and public traditions, professional and work ethics, and so on. Democracy, or society's nonsubordinate political status, is not a gift of the gods. It has to be learned. That education is not easy and it requires optimum conditions. Several years ago someone wisely remarked: "Democracy cannot be a gesture on the part of the authorities—it is a prerequisite of socialism."

It is obvious that the extension of democracy to all areas of our public life will not automatically result in universal prosperity and a blossoming of civilization and culture. We should not expect those things soon. On the other hand, it ought to give us the realization that success means our shared public and national success, and that we ourselves are to blame for our misfortunes.

Democracy is, in a sense, an exponent of what could, in the future, assume the form of an "anticrisis pact." I am not an advocate of an endless multiplication of new structures. Experience of history teaches that their proliferation has always served to cover up shortcomings in democracy. This happened, for instance, in the years between the two World Wars, during the "restoration" regime [sanacja]. A vast number of organizations which merely simulated activity in public service existed at that time. The register of public, political, cultural, and other organizations is also very extensive today. Their declarations, statutes, and programs deserve our highest approval. But it is an open secret that the broad public regards them with a large dose of skepticism. Evidence of this is found not only in public opinion survey findings, but also in such wide-ranging top-rank political actions as the recent elections to people's councils.

For several years now, we have seen in our country the work of some new institutions and organizations in which, at the time of their foundation, tremendous hopes and aspirations were vested: hopes for a galvanization of the public spirit, for the launching of new initiatives, for mobilization of our joint efforts, for a moral revival of our society, for democratization of power, and so on. The major ones which should be mentioned here are the PRON, the Consultative Council attached to the Chairman of the Council of State, and the conventions attached to voivodship offices (there have been no indications of life whatever from these last bodies). A new custom became widespread: consulting the public on decisions of key importance. Given all these circumstances, do we need to create a new organization or institution in the shape of an "anticrisis pact"? The answer is simple. If it were to constitute yet another embodiment of the familiar forms, principles, and methods, then it would be redundant. On the other hand, we do need an organization which would be an authentic exponent of public opinion and which would, as such, win public approval. This is not the time or the place for specifying its organizational and program guidelines. In the future (perhaps the not too distant future) I will gladly take part in a debate on its model and its objectives.

When answering the question whether an "anticrisis pact" is possible, one should consider two issues: the social and political composition of the "pact" as a body

whose brief would be to represent various forces and circles, and the normative, political and legislative determinants of its operation. When we take both these issues into consideration we can easily conclude that the creation of such an organization or institution would be contingent on an introduction of far-reaching political and legislative changes. Our current constitutional norms (not to mention specific regulations and codes) do not provide a wide scope for political initiatives. Before an "anticrisis pact"—that is, an organization geared to long-range targets, and not just a body created as an extemporaneous reaction to an unsatisfactory sociopolitical situation—comes into existence, we need to complete a restructuring of the political and state system. The initiative for this, as well as the main campaign devised to reach this goal, should come from the party (the PZPR), whose place and role in the reformed system must be clearly defined and endorsed by the public.

Gdansk Party Plenum Meets in Session

AU1107142988 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9-10 Jul 88 p 2

[Excerpts] PAP—The 8 July Plenum of the Voivodship PZPR Committee in Gdansk evaluated the campaign and results of the elections to the people's councils and the tasks of the voivodship party organization in connection with the seventh party plenum resolutions.

The plenum was attended by Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and by Jan Swiderski, head of the Central Committee Cadre Department.

The plenum stressed that the rather low turnout in the elections to the people's councils in the Tricity and the entire Gdansk region was occasioned by the fact that the election slogans and arguments had failed to reach the electorate. [passage omitted]

Stanislaw Bejger, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee in Gdansk, asked the plenum to be allowed to resign his post, because he wanted to do other party work. In line with statutory requirements, the plenum accepted his resignation in an open vote.

On behalf of Wojciech Jaruzelski, Jan Glowczyk thanked Stanislaw Bejger for his work in leading the Gdansk organization for over 6 years and for his militant political and social activities in party and Gdansk authorities. [passage omitted]

The plenum elected Marek Holdakowski the first secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee in Gdansk.

Event Marks Friendship Treaty With CSSR

AU0108154388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1435 GMT 1 Aug 88

["On the Anniversary of the Signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance Between Romania and Czechoslovakia"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 1/8/1988—On the 20th anniversary of the signing of the new Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance Between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a press conference was held at the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in Bucharest on Monday, August 1.

Ambassador Jan Papp spoke about the significance of the respective anniversary, highlighting that the treaty signed on August 16, 1968, as well as the first treaty, concluded 40 years ago, went down as a significant contribution to the expansion and deepening—in the new conditions created by socialist construction—of the relations of friendship and close collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, in their mutual interest, in the interest of the cause of peace and socialism. The speaker placed emphasis on the progressive, revolutionary traditions of the fight for national and social liberty in the two countries and showed that Romanian soldiers had written unforgettable pages in the fight for Czechoslovakia's liberation from fascist domination.

Pointing to the ascending course of those links, the ambassador showed that the understandings reached during Romanian-Czechoslovak summit meetings and talks had had a deciding importance for the development of those ties, for their rise on to a new, higher stage.

Details on Pay Rise in Mining, Other Areas

AU0208132588 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 31 July carries, under the headline "Telling Proof of the Party's Profoundly Humane Policy of Improving the People's Well-Being," a 4,000-word report made up of five tables illustrating how the recent pay increase is being applied in the mining industry, the metallurgical industry, the chemical and petrochemical industry, the oil industry, and in the electrical energy industry beginning 1 August 1988.

According to the report, "in the mining industry the incomes of all working people with a base pay lower than 2,000 lei ($1 equals 15.6 lei according to the November 1986 official exchange rate) will be increased beginning 1 August."

Thus, a skilled worker's lowest base pay in mining before the increase was 1,808 lei and the highest was 1,975 lei, while after the increase the lowest base pay is 2,248 lei and the highest is 2,414 lei.

An unskilled worker's lowest base pay before the rise was 1,515 lei and the highest was 1,976 lei, while after the increase the lowest base pay is 2,014 lei and the highest is 2,391 lei.

In the metallurgical industry, a skilled worker's lowest base pay before the 1 August pay rise was 1,799 lei and the highest was 1,994 lei, while after the increase the lowest base pay is 2,219 lei and the highest is 2,405 lei.

In the same industry, an unskilled worker's lowest base pay before the pay rise was 1,525 lei and the highest was 1,994 lei, while after the increment the lowest base pay is 2,014 lei and the highest is 2,414 lei.

In the chemical and petrochemical industry, a skilled worker's lowest base pay before the rise was 1,799 lei and the highest was 1,994 lei, while after the increase the lowest base pay is 2,219 lei and the highest is 2,395 lei.

An unskilled worker's lowest base pay before the rise was 1,525 lei and the highest was 1,994 lei, while after the pay rise the lowest is 2,014 lei and the highest is 2,414 lei.

In the oil industry, a skilled worker's lowest base pay before the increase was 1,799 lei and the highest was 1,994, while after the pay increase the lowest base pay is 2,219 lei and the highest is 2,395 lei.

An unskilled worker's lowest base pay before the rise was 1,525 lei and the highest was 1,857 lei, while after the increment the lowest base pay is 2,014 lei and the highest is 2,287 lei.

In the electrical energy industry, a skilled worker's lowest base pay before the pay increase was 1,799 lei and the highest was 1,994 lei, while after the increase the lowest base pay is 2,219 lei and the highest is 2,395 lei.

An unskilled worker's lowest base pay before the increment was 1,554 lei and the highest was 1,887 lei, while after the pay rise the lowest base pay is 2,043 lei and the highest is 2,307 lei.

Each of the five tables ends with the following note: "The increased base pays also incorporate compensations granted in conformity with State Council Decrees No 46/1982 and 240/1982.

"In case plan tasks have not been fulfilled, remuneration will be paid in conformity with legal provisions."

Serbian Meeting Calls For Matic Resignation

LD0108125288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1111 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—Petar Matic, regardless of all his past merits, is no longer able to express and represent the interests of Yugoslav veterans. His stands have upset not only participants in the national liberation war and revolution but other working people and citizens too, proving that Matic is incapable of following present demands.

This was said at today's session of the Presidium of the Serbian Veterans' Organization, which discussed numerous calls for Petar Matic to resign as President of Yugoslavia's Federation of Associations of National Liberation War Veterans.

More on Resignation Call

LD0108150988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Aug (TANJUG)—The Serbian Federation of Associations of National Liberation War Veterans [SUBNOR] Presidium concluded at today's session that it would send a request to the Yugoslav Veterans' Organization for the resignation of Petar Matic from the position of president of the SUBNOR federal board. The reason for calling today's session, at which this decision was adopted, was to discuss a series of demands for the resignation of Matic from municipal veterans' organizations after the publication of his speech at a session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium.

Several people taking part in the discussion expressed the view that Matic, despite his exceptional merits in the past, can no longer represent and interpret the views of Yugoslav veterans. His stand has upset not only SUBNOR members but also the working class, it was said today.

Dusan Pekic stressed that Matic was legally elected to the post of president—not one veterans' organization having opposed this, not even the the Croatian SUBNOR which had objections to some of his standpoints. Petar Mataic's biggest failing was that he did not consult members of Yugoslav's SUBNOR Presidium prior to his speeches, so that what he said at the session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, and at the last session of the LCY Central Committee, does not represent the standpoints of the body which he heads, Pekic said. He added that divisions could exacerbate the unenviable situation in which our country finds itself and that the veterans' organization must therefore protect itself from them.

Further Reportage on Jansa Trial Reactions

DELO Views Sentences

AU0308094588 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 28 Jul 88 p 12

[Barbara Gucek report: "Thousands Greet Borstner, Tasic and Jansa in Front of the Court Building"]

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 27 Jul—A crowd of at least 7,000 people gave a stormy welcome to Ivan Borstner, David Tasic, and Janez Jansa at 1440 today, when the court bench released them from detention after the sentences were handed down.

In the presence of the relatives of the accused, a dozen journalists, and the military attorney in the public benches (in addition to the five-member bench, the three military defense counsel, the military prosecutor, and the translator, the sentence was heard by 24 people), Colonel Djuro Vlaisavljevic, president of the Military Court, announced in Serbo-Croatian that the court will pronounce the sentence in the name of the people. [passage omitted]

The journalists present expected that the president of the military bench would exclude the public even from the explanation of the sentence, considering that the trial was secret (according to the law of criminal procedure, only the pronouncement of the sentence is always public), but he did not do. He read the explanation of the sentence for each of the accused separately, and the official translator then took much more time to translate it into broken Slovene, which those present found hard to understand.

So far as one could understand, the indisputably established facts arising from the indictment, in the opinion of the court, show that Ivan Borstner admitted that he had indeed obtained the order to which he had access at his place of work, and that he knew that the order to be highly confidential, for he was employed in a place where confidential documents circulate regularly. As the president of the bench explained, Borstner had turned his back on the military vocation in the past few years and therefore did not attach any importance to any orders. This having been so, he deliberately and premeditatedly decided to take a photocopy of the document to the MLADINA editorial office, in the expectation that the content of the order would thus reach the highest party and state organs in Slovenia, for he understood the document to constitute a threat to the Slovene people. He handed the photocopy in an unauthorized way to David Tasic, whom he had known for some time, for Borstner had shown Tasic his resignation from the LCY some time ago, which makes his motives clear. As mitigating circumstances, the bench counted his sincere conduct before the court, his difficult family circumstances, and a positive job evaluation. In the opinion of the court, the fact that he abused the trust of his superiors was an aggravating circumstance.

It was considered in David Tasic's favor that he kept the photocopy for a very short time, because he passed it on to responsible editor Zavrl according to routine procedures, and it was through mere chance that he did not pass it to chief editor Botteri as he well might have done. As the president of the bench explained, Tasic could clearly remember some parts of the document during the investigation and he also remembered the fact that it was a military secret, "for any average person could see that." In addition, Borstner handed him the document while wearing his uniform. David Tasic never served in

the Army, and this was counted as a mitigating circumstance. All in all, in the opinion of the military court bench, his act constituted a minor social danger. Taking into account his youth, his unblemished record, and his sincerity during the proceedings, he received an essentially mild sentence.

Of Franci Zavrl it was said that he was not satisfied with one photocopy, but deliberately copied the document several more times, knowing that it was a military secret. The President of the bench explained this by saying that when serving his military service, Zavrl was an excellent radiotelegraphist, one of the best in his unit, and therefore knew about such things. He thus made an effort to create "another distribution center" (as this was translated) and handed one of the photocopies to Jansa, while leaving Tasic's copy unprotected in an unlocked drawer of his desk in the editorial office. It was said that during the trial, Zavrl defended himself by denying the indictment, which had the same effect as if he had kept silent. The bench was of the opinion that his guilt was proven through Tasic' evidence and Jansa's statement during the investigation. If this were not true, why should Tasic have confessed, for in the opinion of the bench he thus put himself into a disadvantageous position. In the opinion of the bench, David Tasic was not disturbed when Janez Jansa was arrested and he believed that the photocopy of the document was planted on Tasic's desk when the investigators found it there on 4 June, because he knew that he passed it on.

Now about Jansa: He received the photocopy from Zavrl because he was an involved journalist, considering that he was personally interested in writing such articles. He is blamed for keeping the copy unprotected for 2 months and for keeping it with the intention of writing articles (he had underlined some passages in the text), and the court also found him blameworthy because as a graduate of defense studies, he is an expert on military affairs but had turned his intellectual efforts in the wrong direction. His earlier articles, including articles on the reduction of military service, were also cited. The fact that he was an expert was an aggravating circumstance. In the opinion of the military bench, the burden of his guilt was equal to that of Franci Zavrl: the latter manifested it through the quantity, which is to say by making photocopies, and Jansa through his expertise.

From a layman's point of view, in his explanation of the sentence, the president of the bench did not cite any material evidence or any evidence given by witnesses, with the exception of the admissions made by some during the investigations and partly at the trial. He only mentioned the interrogation by examining judge Ranic, because Jansa had changed his statement in the court, and the statement by the person in charge of the search at Mikro-Ada. He also mentioned the confiscation of other documents found with Jansa and the opinion of an expert about a photocopy.

Those sentenced were then given legal instructions. When they receive their sentences in writing in 5 or 6 days, they may appeal to the Supreme Military Court in Belgrade within 14 days. (This appeal exhausts the regular legal procedures, but an extraordinary appeal to the Federal Court is still possible to test the sentence outside the regular procedure.)

The president of the bench also said that detention was lifted on the three, and 10 minutes later they were outside. [passage omitted]

Treatment of Detained Viewed

AU0208144388 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] In its 41st public release, the Human Rights Protection Committee states that the Ljubljana Military Court has not [as heard] yet handed down its sentences on Borstner, Jansa, Tasic, and Zavrl. In the past few days, all the accused underwent medical checkups at the Internal Clinic of the University Institute for [word indistinct].

Ivan Borstner handed his request for demobilization to the Ljubljana Army District Command. Respective organs must decide on the request within 2 months.

The Human Rights Protection Committee also reports that on the basis of evidence obtained from the accused and on the basis of some other evidence and documents, it will send a report to Colonel Simon Potapic, head of the Ljubljana Army District Medical Services, to the Red Cross of Slovenia, and to the Initiative Committee for Setting Up a Human Rights and Basic Freedoms Protection Council with the SAWP, in which it will cite some facts and suspicions indicating that those detained in the military prison in Ljubljana are treated in an unlawful way and that the Tokyo Declaration on Basic Human and Civil Rights and Freedoms is being violated.

In the coming days, the Committee expects an answer to the question posed by the Presidency of Slovenia about the content of the incriminating photocopies of the alleged military document.

'Energy Unleashed' by Trial

AU0308122288 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 29 Jul 88 p 2

[Mile Setinc commentary: "Where To Direct This New People's Energy"]

[Text] The weather today contributed a symbolic point to the events before the Military Court in Ljubljana: For the first time after the hellish heat of the past few days, there has been some cooling off, but it certainly will not last long. By releasing the accused from detention, the court made a move which was logical and expected from the viewpoint of the law, but it was in fact the first essential move that was not to the detriment of the accused. The heavy sentences

even for those accused against whom—judging by the explanation of the sentence—the court had no serious material evidence will probably lead to further events that will be no less dramatic.

Now it is the turn of appeal courts to decide whether, for instance, underlining words in a military document and a statement during the investigations (denied at the trial!) are sufficient to send somebody to prison for 1 and ½ years. It is also the turn of the SFRY Presidency, which is unanimously requested by the highest republican organs of authority and political organs to protect the constitutionality as regards the use of language before courts, and it is the turn of the domestic authorities, which is requested by the Human Rights Protection Committee to explain the nature of the incriminating document. This is somehow the formal side of the affair. Another point is that there are certainly only a few people in Slovenia now who would fail to connect the trial with the conflicts triggered off in Yugoslavia by the processes of the democratization of political life in Slovenia. There is no material evidence for this, but there is much suspicion which is nourished by the mystery enveloping the origins of the affair, and by the conduct of the military juridical organs that acted contrary to the principles of modern law and the international standards for protecting basic human rights, and contrary to the logical interpretation of the laws themselves, even in those respects in which they adhered to "the letter of the law."

It is indisputable that the Ljubljana trial unwittingly unleashed a tremendous human energy which was best manifested at the cultural meeting [in Ljubljana on 21 June], in the incredible patience with which the crowd, despite the unbearable heat, waited for the outcome of the trial before the Military Court, and in general, in a Liberation-Front-like solidarity and resourcefulness of people in helping the Human Rights Protection Committee. Although the danger was looming over the events all the time—and it had to be expected under such circumstances—that the mass feeling may turn into a radicalization of nationally (nationalistically) colored frustrations, the committee succeeded in keeping the movement within the limits of the general democratic struggle that seeks allies all over Yugoslavia.

Some of this energy has firmly broken through the framework of ordinary manifestations. This particularly applies to the suggestions accepted by the republican assembly that an assembly commission should be set up for control over the state security service (and that the powers of the somewhat mysterious Constitutional System Protection Council with the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia should be restricted!) and that the assembly should at once begin drafting changes in the criminal law, which in the way it stands is too "politicized" to lend credence to those who demanded an a priori and unreserved trust by the public in the work of the juridicial organs from the very beginning. The problem is that even the greatest optimists do not believe that these activities will show any tangible results soon, particularly regarding federal legislation. Those who see in the Ljubljana events just "an attack on the Yugoslav People's Army" are still too influential in other parts of Yugoslavia.

The energy unleashed will not simply seep away, with the Human Rights Protection Committee or without. This of course poses the question to the committee what it should do about itself in the future, and to "others," what they should do about the committee. Suggestions have been appearing since it first arose that it should grow into a constant coordination body of new social movements and that it should deal with matters that are only indirectly connected with the matter for which it was established.

Whatever happens with the committee—even if it remains—it certainly will not be a new political party or quasi-party. The committee members include only few people who are willing to share the panic fear of "orthodox ideologists" at the very mention of a theoretical possibility that we may get a new political party. More serious matters are at stake: The committee is too heterogeneous (in outlook, ideologically, politically, professionally, and so forth) for some sort of a populist party to grow out of it, and that would also be contrary to its own democratic potential. The committee will therefore probably remain what it is: a part of the democratic movement of all the citizens who fight for the affirmation of new "rules of the game," rules that would finally establish and protect the civilizational achievements of the bourgeois revolutions, which the SAWP is finally taking up. Without these rules there can be no "socialism to suit man!"

Kucan on Slovene at Trial

AU0208113088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jul 88 p 4

[Slavko Gajevic report: "A Dispute Grows Into a Political Trial"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 July—At its session yesterday, the Slovene LC Central Committee discussed, under "any other business," the realization of the stances that it adopted at its previous session and which concern the criminal proceedings before the Military Court in Ljubljana and reform of the criminal legislature.

Speaking about the chronology of events connected with the proceedings before the Military Court in Ljubljana and the reactions of Slovene political discussion forums, Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, recalled the reaction of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia when it found out that the trial in the Military Court would be conducted in the Serbo-Croatian language.

It is possible to comment that it should have reacted to this earlier, as this practice obviously did not originate from this specific trial, said Milan Kucan. Such a reproach is accurate, but now the problem has become well-known and it should be solved according to principles. One cannot answer that it has always been like this.

It probably was, but in our opinion this is not correct according to political principles and the Constitution. Now there is the danger that the attitude will prevail that the way it was is all right and it must stay like that. This is unacceptable or it would be an unacceptable attitude.

We are of the opinion, said Kucan, that the specialist report which the SFRY Presidency used as the basis for shaping this attitude, obviously did not, in our appraisal, respect the SFRY Constitution, which specifies the official use of languages in the federal organs, including both the Military Court and the Military prosecutor. The Yugoslav Constitution specifies that the languages of the people, therefore all languages of the nationalities, are officially used in the SFRY and they are used in line with the Yugoslav Constitution and federal law. This constitutional provision states directly that all languages of the people are officially used in the federal organs. The only exception to this provision with regard to the official use of the languages of the people in federal organs, is specified in the SFRY Constitution with the provision that in line with federal law, one of the languages of the people of Yugoslavia can be used in the command and military training of the Yugoslav People's Army and one of the languages of the peoples and nationalities can be used in its divisions. That is now Serbo-Croatian according to the law. This is the only exception that the federal law can specify the official use of languages in federal organs. The official use of the language of the people in federal organs is set out directly in all other cases.

Is Slovene Sovereignty Limited? [subhead]

We think that the specialist report which the federal presidency used as the basis for forming this viewpoint, obviously did not take account of the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia which determines that all state organs on the territory of the SR of Slovenia work in the Slovene language. The Constitution of the SR of Slovenia says very precisely and sets down that all state organs on the territory of the SR of Slovenia work in the Slovene language, which also goes for federal organs which operate in the SR of Slovenia, and even for the Military Court and Military prosecutor. In practice, both the customs and foreign currency inspectors operate in this way.

Considering that federal organs officially use the languages of the people which are defined by the republican Constitution, one should use as the official language in the trial before the military court which is working on the territory of a certain republic, the language of the people which is used on the territory of that republic, according to the republican Constitution. In the SR of Slovenia this is the Slovene language, as this is set down in the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia. The court council could not choose any language other the Slovene language, and in this case, its decision is in contradiction to the Constitution, said Milan Kucan.

The question of the language in the trial before the Ljubljana Military Court is not only a question of that specific trial, said Milan Kucan, but involves the principle question of the official use of the Slovene language on the territory of the SR of Slovenia and in the federal organs, as an expression of the sovereignty of the Slovene people, which is realized in the SR of Slovenia and the SFRY, and thus in the military courts and military prosecutors.

The consequences of the Military Court's decision are far-reaching, said Kucan. He then drew attention to the views of the public, which is quite worried and disturbed about whether the trial is being held correctly and legally and about some other irregularities, adding that he was not qualified to judge them but that the Lawyers' Chamber of Slovenia had already warned about this in its statement. Kucan said that a specialist analysis would have to appraise this once the trial had ended.

The whole trial had undoubtedly been started because of the suspected criminal act of disclosing a military secret. This has almost been forgotten in the public or seems to be of secondary importance. The trial assumed the characteristics of a political trial. The question of why and what contributed to this should be the subject of a special political analysis.

This fact and the fact that almost none of the suggestions of the Assembly, the Central Committee, the SAWP Presidium, or the Slovene Presidency regarding the conduct of the trial were accepted, have adversely affected the political mood in Slovenia. The reasons that these suggestions were not accepted should be established because their meaning and aim were to strengthen confidence in the military courts and the Yugoslav People's Army and in this way facilitate a political action and differentiation on criteria accepted by the Slovene Assembly and the Slovene LC Central Committee.

Continuing his speech, Milan Kucan said that questions have been raised of not only the ability and authority of the Slovene political organ and its legitimacy, but also the question of whether Slovene sovereignty in Yugoslavia has really been limited—as has been heard in the public—and who is responsible for protecting it. This fact will exert an influence on the continuation of the debate on the Constitution, it will strengthen Slovene nationalism and separatism in the sense that the equality and sovereignty of the Slovene nation has not been ensured in the SFRY, that the uniqueness and the cultural and historic legitimacy of the Slovene nation and its state have not been ensured, as one can read about all this in various publication in our republic.

Effects on Good Relations With the Army [subhead]

This decision, together with other phenomena and difficulties that assumed new qualities with this event, can adversely affect the traditionally good relations between the

Slovenes and the Yugoslav People's Army. Our belief and determination in this context are that through our political work we must preserve these relations as being examplary.

In addition, Kucan said that this fact intensifies the need for an analysis of the legal and political position of the military judiciary. All this, Kucan said, will be of special importance for the position of the Slovene minority in Italy and Austria because a mistake has been made that will not help their struggle for equality.

Kucan said that the problem has been raised as to how to protect the sovereignty of the peoples which, as free and sovereign peoples, decided, just like the Slovene people, to live on an equal footing in the SFRY with the other peoples with whom the Slovene people emerged from World War II as the victor. In this context, we in the Presidium think that it is necessary to talk about this dispute in the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, considering that the peoples have the right to that, and that this is the axiom of people's sovereignty as established by the Yugoslav Constitution and our Constitution.

Speaking at the session of the Slovene LC Central Committee, Kucan said that it was a fact that the Slovenes identify the language very closely with the people and its political sovereignty. The Slovene nation has formed itself through its culture, and its language has been threatened by Italians, Germans, and Hungarians throughout history. So far we have not had our state that would protect this language. The struggle for a new, socialist Yugoslavia, for joint life in the SFRY has therefore been the struggle for our own language. The Slovenes cannot regard as theirs any state which fails to guarantee the free use of the Slovene language and its equality, and they cannot consider it a state that guarantees the freedom, sovereignty, and equality of the Slovene people and a state that protects their sovereignty.

The Presidium of the Slovene LC Central Committee wondered why, Kucan said, the question of the responsibility of Slovene politicians had been raised when the interests and sovereignty of the Slovene people seem to be threatened. In this connection, it is necessary to warn the LCY Central Committee Presidium and to suggest that it assess the problem, support the Slovene LC, the Presidency, and the Slovene Assembly in their demands for ensuring the use of the Slovene language in the organs of the Federation, and particularly on the territory of the SR of Slovenia, and that in this sense it endorse the proposal of the Slovene Presidency that the SFRY Presidency reexamines, for constitutional, legal, and political reasons, its views, and in this way contribute to a solution in principal of the problem and to calm down the heated political atmosphere in Slovenia and the Slovene institutions. The federal organs should also be partly responsible for this.

The Military Court Worked Under Pressures [subhead]

Milan Kucan then informed the Slovene Central Committee members that he had briefed members of the federal party leadership on this a day earlier at the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The LCY Central Committee Presidium, said Kucan, accepted my suggestion that it listen to the report and decided to discuss it after the translation of my speech on this report and to also brief the SFRY Presidency on the shorthand version of my speech and its translation.

In the discussion that followed, Bozidar Debenjak spoke about the impasse that had appeared primarily in the views of the SFRY Presidency, as the highest executive authority of the state and in some actions of the military sector of the legal authorities. Debenjak said that the Military Court had worked under pressure. On the one hand, under the pressure of power structures, as speakers in public discussions had pronounced the sentences in advance. The court had also worked under pressure from the street which was two-fold: On the one hand, a call for the release of the accused and on the other, a call for the lynching of the accused. Public gatherings outside Slovenia wanted drastic punishments and they saw the four accused men as infamous traitors. The third pressure was what Debenjak called democratic pressure from the public that the court uses its independence. Debenjak called this third type the democratic control of institutions and assessed its effect as positive.

Debenjak then said that the failure to allow three specialists to participate in the court trial was in fact an offense to science and the university and that the legal regulations had, as a rule, been interpreted repressively, at the expense of the accused and to the detriment of openness. The decision to make Serbo-Croatian the language of the court proceedings created the impression of bias and that a judgement had been made in advance. If this is a question of the autonomous behavior of the court council, then it is a question of lack of ability. If it involves the relationship between the Ljubljana court council, the council of the Supreme Military Court, and the rapid reply of the SFRY Presidency, then it is necessary for us to put forward our views about the aim of such behavior.

A Decision Which Hits Below the Belt [subhead]

Objectively speaking, the decision to conduct the trial in Serbo-Croatian is a slap in the face of the Slovene public, said Debenjak. He added that this is a decision which hit below the belt in order to injure national pride in the most sensitive area. One can in no way defend the attitude that a hearing against a Slovene or a Macedonian in his native republic or outside it, would be conducted in technically the same way as if it were against a German, Greek, or Arab, which are peoples who are temporarily in our country.

The legal service that prepared the SFRY Presidency's reply obviously still lives in the infamous third Yugoslavia for which there is no constitutional basis and which could in no

way arise democratically. Debenjak said that even after the press conference it was still unclear what sort of relationship there is between the recent trial and the infamous sinister fantasies about a counterrevolution.

Milan Kucan agreed with the first part of Debenjak's speech but said that such questions should be discussed differently and not on the basis of hypotheses as they could lead us to strange viewpoints and conclusions.

Matjaz Kmecl said that recent events had dealt a moral and political blow to Slovene sovereignty. All the proposals put forward by the institutions which represent the basic symbols and functions of sovereignty, were rejected and often cynically so. Kmecl drew attention to the fact that these proposals were rejected at a time which coincided with a Slovene statehood holiday.

Such a blow to this sovereignty can only stimulate, on the one hand, separatism and on the other, well-known Slovene defeatism. A society that becomes homogeneous on the basis of defeatism and cynicism cannot be a productive society. This is a blow to Yugoslavia, said Kmecl. This is not only a blow to the strengthening and development of Slovene sovereignty. Kmecl linked the events surrounding the trial in the Military Court with the undermining of the new policy of the Slovene leadership and denounced the state president, saying that for him a problematic state president was one who accused a leadership of opportunism if it defended the constitutionally affirmed rights of a people who chose that same leadership.

Commentary on 'Pressure on Slovenia'

AU0208110588 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 27 Jul 88 p 2

[Danilo Slivnik commentary: "Overheated Politics"]

[Text] Now that we have nearly fulfilled the most extreme predictions that past economic and other errors will bring us all to "soup kitchens" (the first public soup kitchens for pensioners are being set up in Pozarevac), in essence, nothing should surprise us anymore. The events in the country during the past few days show, however, that the policy of arrogance, pressure, misunderstanding, and double standards—which are a component of all the fighting behind the scenes—continues and that the present summer harbors something that causes concern: something much more ominous than the high temperatures, unsettled purchasing prices for agricultural produce, and the (traditionally) always uncertain tourist season....

Slovenia's relations with Yugoslavia are only a part of these events, but they are their most important part—according to the unassailable human logic that the most important thing is what happens in one's immediate surroundings. Obviously they concern much more than the temporary differences in the discussions about the official language used in military courts in several Yugoslav republics, or the requests for an immediate increase of funds in the state budget which, as is known, has long been one of the most fatal sources of some of our most burning economic problems. According to everything that Slovenia experienced in its federal relations during the past few days, one can hardly avoid getting the impression that this is a matter of placing great pressure on Slovenia and Slovene policy, and that this pressure is an attempt to neutralize all those Slovene political initiatives that were, together with democratic initiatives from other Yugoslav communities, favorably accepted in many places in the past.

Perhaps somebody will say that we are exaggerating a bit, but at this moment we are not concerned about all those events and discussions which, if one is asked, "What is possible, and what is not?" Can be dismissed with the brief statement, "It is all in accordance with the laws and the existing rules...." It has happened too many times in the past that matters were perfectly fine according to strict legal logic, and then most grotesque matters happened. What we have in mind is simply the so-called political will, which always has a very wide (and legally legitimate) range and which in the past few days (and weeks) took the most unfavorable paths possible for Slovenia and the Slovenes, be it about the trial in Ljubljana, the export policy discussions in the Federal Assembly, the decisions on priority road building, or something else.

How else could we understand the SFRY Presidency's negative reply, supplied at the suggestion of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, that legality regarding the language in the proceedings before the Military Court in Ljubljana be restored, or the answer given by the Supreme Military Court in Belgrade to the same question earlier, to the effect that Serbo-Croatian at official proceedings in Ljubljana "is not disputable," or (if we go on listing) the indifference with which the federal SAWPY Presidium rejected Joze Smole's proposal that its members be acquainted with the political consequences of the Ljubljana trial, and so forth. One should certainly include the Saturday speech by Raif Dizdarevic to young officers at the Belgrade Military Academy; speaking about the so-called "excesses," he devoted most attention precisely to "attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army" in Slovenia, although many other more pressing examples were available to him concerning this point—not least of all the hotbeds of crisis in the economy, or the events occuring in front of the eyes of the Belgrade people during the past 2 weeks that are connected with other events in the SR of Serbia.

Of course nobody intends to unload his problems on others (although this is a general Yugoslav practice), but at this moment it is not possible to avoid the fact that the struggle for economic and social transformation in Yugoslavia—which officially is entitled "the struggle for reform"—is becoming increasingly unprincipled and that those who do not like changes try to gain the upper hand. It is therefore no wonder that in such an atmosphere, the passions in Slovenia are also heating up, because the obvious lack of tact and the unyielding attitude of some federal institutions has led many people

to lose their temper, or to take up a side that is not theirs at all. Because of the feeling of being endangered, many demand with justification that the Slovene political representatives should make a more resolute stand. Extremes, of course, are no good for anybody, but it must be admitted that the situation in Yugoslavia is changing rapidly (some newspapers are publishing political appeals instead of reporting on sessions) and therefore the time has come for responsible and resolute words and deeds by all.

Federal Prosecutor Criticized, Responds

AU0208173988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30-31 Jul 88 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Why Was the Prosecutor Silent About the Memorandum?"]

[Text] The delegates of the Federal Chamber unanimously approved the report on the work of the federal public prosecutor in 1987, apart from two speakers with residual objections. Gojmir Komar said that the federal public prosecutor had exceeded his powers by giving a political assessment of the situation in Slovenia and asked why, if he had taken the initiative to start proceedings against journalists of TELEKS and NOVA REVIJA, he had not done so in the cases of the Memorandum [of the Serbian Academy], the caricature in JEZ, against the journalists of NON, and against Djuretic's book.

Milos Bakic, federal public prosecutor, responded to the speech, saying that there had been nothing subjective in his conduct. The Memorandum had not been published, and there were therefore no grounds for inaugurating criminal proceedings. The JEZ caricature had never existed, and so we were unable to find it, and the Slovenian prosecutor reported the NON case this a year late. I also agree with the assessment of Djuretic's book, but there were no grounds for criminal proceedings.

Court Rejects Appeal

LD0208194088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1646 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—The higher court of Ljubljana has struck down an appeal by Federal Public Prosecutor Milos Bakic and has ruled that Bakic cannot be the prosecutor in the proceedings against MLADINA editor Franci Zavrl for publishing the article "Mamula Go Home."

This is the second appeal by Milos Bakic that the Ljubljana higher court has rejected. The court recently struck down Bakic's attempt to reopen proceedings against journalist and feature writer Andrej Novak for his article "Generals and Generations."

Today's ruling by Ljubljana's higher court, however, does not mean an end to the case of the editorial, "Mamula go Home." Franci Zavrl is yet to be tried in the Ljubljana court in his capacity as the responsible editor. He is also chagred by the Ljubljana first public prosecutor for insulting former Federal Secretary for National Defense Branko Mamula. Zavrl is charged with the criminal act under Article 106, stemming from Article 114 of the republic's criminal code. This criminal act carries a less severe sentence than the criminal act of insulting the SFRY stemming from Article 157 of the SFRY criminal code which the federal public prosecutor wanted to charge Zavrl with.

Milos Bakic's legal standpoint that he can prosecute in cases where collected evidence points to a criminal act punishable under the federal law is, in the view of the Ljubljana higher court, an attempt to extend the federal prosecutor's powers unnecessarily. It would also be contrary to the provisions contained in paragraph 2, Article 273 of the federal Constitution and paragraph 1, Article 5 of the Law on Federal Public Prosecution.

The federal public prosecutor can appeal the ruling to the Slovene supreme court.

Anti-Army Graffiti Appear in Ljubljana

AU0208152488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jul 88 p 16

[S.G. report: "Graffiti on Facades"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 29 Jul—Strife has been continuing in Ljubljana for weeks with the help of graffiti on the facades of buildings. During the trial in the Military Court, the following graffiti could be read in Ljubljana: "The Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] defends, accuses, and judges," "Dachau 88," and the like. The Ljubljana city workers, as far as they can, have painted over these and other similar graffiti, so that new texts appear the next day on the freshly painted surfaces.

Today, workers of the communal services can be seen in the city center, erasing from the walls the slogans: "Down with the YPA," "Dreyfus help us," "YPA f—off." [Preceding two words in English] In the afternoon, slogans written on walls in the old part of Ljubljana were still awaiting erasure, including "Death to the YPA," and spray-painted swastikas with the text "YPA" and the number 133 [Article of the SFRY Criminal Code].

Defense Secretariat Deplores Attacks on Army

AU0208100688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jul 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Attacks on the Army Deepen Confusion and the Crisis"]

[Text] In reply to the question of the delegate Omer Kurpejovic, referring both to the number and nature of the attacks and forms of pressure upon the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] and to unbecoming conduct toward members of the YPA, the statement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense stated that attacks on the YPA have become increasingly noticeable in the past few years. Some papers

and magazines from Slovenia (MLADINA, NOVA REVIJA, KATEDRA, TRIBUNA, and TELEKS) and Radio Student have taken the lead in tendentious, malicious, and one-sided articles about the Army, and some Zagreb and Split media (STUDENTSKI LIST, OMLADINSKA ISKRA) have published unacceptable items. The reply of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense stated that some media have maintained reserved and neutral attitudes to incidents of gross assault upon the YPA's integrity.

Attacks in Garrisons [subhead]

As for oral or written propaganda against the YPA, the reply added that 378 persons had been reported to have acted against the Armed Forces during the first 6 months of this year, usually carrying out nationalistic attacks on members of the YPA. Officers and their families are called the coarsest names ("occupier," "mob of southerners") and are told "I will not speak the swinish language," and "Teach yourself Slovene," while rumors are spreading about conflicts within the Army and large-scale fights among soldiers of different nationalities. The slogans "Hang the Serbs," "Chain up the Bosnians," "Kill everyone who comes from the south," "Long live freedom—the Army is a jail," "Officers are nuts," and the like have been found in Slovenia recently. According to the assessment of the Federal Secretariat of National Defense, it is significant that the Austrian flag has been raised over barracks and that badges and stickers saying "Styria, Austria's green heart" have been distributed.

In addition to this, high military leaders, garrison commanders, and members of the YPA have in recent months received 16 anonymous letters grossly attacking the YPA, disparaging the defense system, insulting military leaders, justifying the tendentious attacks of MLADINA, and attacking the LCY....

In the first 6 months of this year, 25 cases of physical assault on members of the YPA were recorded at garrisons in Belgrade, Kragujevac, Titovo Uzice, Prokuplje, Slavonska Pozega, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje, Ptuj, Krsko, Nis, and Split, in which 36 YPA members were attacked. These involved about 90 nationalistically-inclined persons under the influence of the anti-Army mood created in some communities.

The forms of political pressure upon the Army include various acts of provocation against members of the YPA (there have been 132), as well as attacks on military facilities and property (22 cases). In Slovenia, 33 cases of provocations, insults, and threats against members of the YPA and their families have been recorded.

Secret Groups [subhead]

The reply to the delegate's question states that the activity of eight illegal groups acting within the Army from positions of Albanian nationalism, involving individuals directed by enemies at home and abroad and who attempted or planned to carry out diversionist, terrorist acts, was stopped. For the most part, these incidents involved soldiers who were members of hostile, illegal groups before their entry into the YPA.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defense stated that nationalist, clerical-nationalist, bureaucratic-dogmatic, and liberal-oriented groups and individuals are usually behind attacks on the Army, and that acts from positions of Albanian, Slovenian, and other kinds of nationalism, which make up at least one half of the attacks, have been particularly evident. It also stated that certain cultural, academic, and public workers from Slovenia (pressure groups) have been most aggressive in the recent surge of the anti-Army campaign. Independently, or encouraged by them, right-wing intellectual forces and other circles, above all in Belgrade, have also been vocal. The individuals and groups have sought and used the support of some international institutions.

The YPA authorities believe that those who launch attacks on the YPA are not numerous, but that they have the opportunity of exerting a proportionately greater influence when it is borne in mind that the forces that should oppose their misuse of the public media are not effective.

In conclusion, it was stated that all these antisocialist and anti-self-management attacks on the YPA calculate to destroy the unity of Yugoslavia and threaten the equality, brotherhood, and unity of peoples and nationalities. They want to bring about the disintegration of the Army and to render it incapable of performing its constitutional function. Concerning the campaign which has been led by the "Jansa case," with the help of unprecedented pressure upon the judicial authorities, the reply states that its goal is to turn the mood of the Slovenian people against the YPA, with which they have nevertheless always had an exemplary relationship, since it is their own People's Army.

The increase in attacks on the YPA is in direct relation to the deepening of the crisis of society in the country, and these attacks have been helped by the inadequate determination of responsible social forces to stamp them out. The attacks impede efforts to stabilize social conditions and lead to deeper ideological confusion and to political confrontation in society. In addition to this, some consequences of this kind of pressure are becoming more and more evident in units, where, for instance, some soldiers uncritically accept fundamental theses from the battery of attacks on the YPA and the defense system, and speak from hostile positions.

Slovene SAWP Questions Trial of Soldier

LD0208114888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0954 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—The initiative committee for founding the Council for Human Rights and Basic Freedoms attached to the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference has issued a statement citing the measures undertaken by the committee in connection with the trial of

Private Tomo Bogataj in the Sarajevo Military Court on 17 June this year. The committee has sent an initiative to the SFRY Presidency on the protection of constitutionality and legality in connection with the action of the military-security organs, the situation, and the military administration of justice. According to the statement, the committee did this after "it had obtained data and documents indicating the possibility that the military security service, individual parts of it, or even individual workers in this service used impermissible means.

It transpires from statements by a large number of soldiers who have already completed their military service, the statement says, the truth could be somewhat different.

'Immediate' Tasks on Kosovo Outlined

LD0208165088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee, at its 16th session held on 29 July 1988, considered the implementation of the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee on the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and togetherness in Kosovo.

The LCY Central Committee states that after the ninth session many actions were launched to change the situation, especially in the Kosovo LC and the Serbian LC, and specific results were achieved in many areas of Kosovo's social life. Awareness is growing of the fact that the difficult problems of Kosovo, and especially the position of the Serbs and Montenegrins who are exposed to the constant pressures of the Albanian nationalists and separatists, is a Yugoslav problem. Numerous projects of economic, educational, cultural, and other cooperation and assistance are being implemented with the aim of halting emigration and speeding up the development of the province. Although unsatisfactory, the results achieved are politically important because they confirm that the problems—even in the conditions of the complex and exacerbated political and economic situation in Kosovo and throughout the country—can be resolved effectively and the situation changed more rapidly.

The LCY Central Committee stresses that, regardless of the fact that the situation is different in individual parts of the province, the key tasks of the ninth session are being implmeneted slowly, partially, and insufficiently. Intranational relations are deteriorating and national divisions are intensifying. The political security situation in Kosovo continues to be difficult; organized hostile action and pressure by Albanian nationalists and separatists is not ceasing and in some environments it is intensifying. There is a constant threat to personal and property security, and to the freedom and rights of citizens, especially Serbs and Montenegrins. The deficiencies in the functioning of the institutions of the political system in resolving the essential problems of people in Kosovo, especially citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, strengthen the distrust in the capacity and readiness of these institutions to improve the situation more rapidly. As a result of all this, the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is continuing with undiminished intensity. This difficult situation and the problems in Kosovo are being used by Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists to achieve their goals, which is making the overall situation more difficult.

Starting from their own responsibility for securing the unity and effectiveness of LCY action in the implementation of the conclusions of the ninth session, and the LCY conference Theses and the current political situation in Kosovo, the LCY Central Committee has set out:

Immediate Tasks of the Organizations and Organs of the LC in the Further Implementation of the Conclusions of the Ninth Session of the LCY Central Committee. [subhead]

1. The LCY Central Committee stresses the current relevance and long-term character of the conclusions of the ninth session and the obligation of united action by the LCY and all socialist-oriented forces in the country for their consistent and wholesale implementation. This is the only way for LCY policy on Kosovo to be implemented and the situation and problems in the province to be resolved on a lasting basis, on the platform of brotherhood and unity, full national equality, and the development of socialist self-management.

The year of activity in implementing the conclusions of the ninth session has confirmed the fundamental demand that the principled policy of the LCY on Kosovo can be successfully realized only with full ideological and action unity in the LCY and its responsible attitude toward the commitments it has taken on.

2. Improvement in the methods of joint work and the strengthening of unity and responsibility are the key task which must be consistantly pursued in implementing the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee and on which the overall activity of the LC of Kosovo, of the SR of Serbia, and the LCY must be concentrated. This task must be approached with awareness of the LC's special responsibility in establishing and strengthening intranational trust and equality, and the development of brotherhood and unity for the development of Kosovo as an integral part of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The LCY Central Committee considers that the consistent revival of the stances of the Kosovo LC Conference on the implementation of the policy of national equality in the further development of socialist intranational relations, as well as the tasks and stances which the Serbian LC Central Committee adopted unanimously at its sessions, are of great importance to the implementation of the conclusions of the ninth session.

The greatest guarantee for the lasting stabilization of Kosovo is the strengthening of the united action front of Serbs, Albanians, Montenegrins, Turks, and members of other nations and nationalities in the province in the

framework of the SAWP and other organized socialist forces, and especially young people and veterans, in the struggle for brotherhood and unity and LCY policy. That is why Communists, by their constant practical work among the people, must build up intranational trust and strengthen consciousness about life together as a condition for the progress of all in Kosovo.

Giving support to the activities of the organizations and organs of the Kosovo LC and the Serbian LC which should be further oriented in this direction, the Central Committee instructs the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, in keeping with the statute and their responsibility for the consistent realization of united action in the implementation of the LCY Central Committee conclusions, to effectively resolve the controversial questions and differences which crop up in connection with this, so that they are overcome in a principled way and on the basis of facts and reasoned arguments. These organs, and above all the Serbian LC Central Committee, as the highest organ of the Serbian LC, in keeping with the principles of democratic centralism and on the basis of program orientations and LCY policy, must resolve in an entirely democratic way and in a timely fashion the controversial questions in the framework of the Serbian LC. If, in the implementation of special conclusions and stances of the LCY Central committee, in which there is an expression of the united policy of the LCY and the action unity of all parts of the LCY, essential political differences emerge between the Serbian LC Central Commitee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, which cannot be overcome in the Serbian LC, the Serbian LC Central Committee or the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee will bring the problem before the LCY Central Committee, or the LCY Central Committee will request a debate in the LCY organs.

The LCY Central Committee instructs its Presidium and the organs of the LC's of the republics and provinces to raise the question of the political responsibility of members of LC organs for public speeches which destroy unity and effectiveness, and thus also objectively hamper LCY action and the struggle against the counterrevolution in Kosovo.

3. It is the duty of the Central Committees of the republican LC's, the provincial committees and the committees of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army and all municipal committees and basic LC organizations in Kosovo, to analyze critically their own activity in implementing the conclusions of the Ninth Session of the LCY CC and the Yugoslav program in Kosovo and in keeping with the tasks of this session to assess as soon as possible—and at the latest by the end of September this year,—the work and behavior of the immediate exponents of the duties and tasks established in their programs. As for all those who, by their irresponsibility before their obligations, opportunist withdrawal, obstruction, incompetence, or insufficient readiness to tackle problems, or have not carried out specific tasks, their personal and collective responsibility should be established in keeping with the posts they hold and the measures of ideo-political, working, and other responsibility undertaken, including resignations and measures for replacing people from their posts and expelling them from the LC.

The LCY Central Commitee requests that the committes of basic LC organizations in the organs and organizations of the federation initiate and carry out, in the same way and within the same period, a critical assessment of the work and behavior of all Communists in organs and organizations of the federation in implementing the Yugoslav program on Kosovo and undertake all necessary measures for their consistent and successful realization, including measures of individual responsibility.

Critically and self-critically assessing its work and the work of its Presidium in fulfilling the conclusions of the ninth session, the LCY Central Committee instructs the LCY Central Committee Presidium to carry out a concrete and detailed critical analysis of its own activity, the work of its commissions and of all LCY Central Commitee members with specific obligations in implementing the operative program, and on this basis to propose to the Central Committee the undertaking of measures of responsibility.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium, on the basis of information on its own work, information from the central and provincial committees, from the LCY committee organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, from the committees of the basic LC organizations in the organs and organizations of the Federation, and on the basis of information received from the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly and the FEC, undertakes to prepare by the end of October this year a comprehensive analysis of the measures undertaken, and to inform the LCY Central Committee.

4. The Central Committee stresses that stabilization of the political and security situation in the province is possible only if full security is ensured for individuals and their property in the SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] of Kosovo, particularly for Serbs and Montenegrins, and that the effective protection of Serbs and Montenegrins from the pressures of Albanian nationalists and separatists is ensured. It is a task of the highest priority for all social subjects and state organs, from the municipality to the federation, to undertake, in keeping with their powers, all available political, administrative, and other measures within the framework of the Constitution and the law, and to carry out this duty without delay and with the utmost responsibility and consistency. It is recommended to the responsible federal organs, particularly the SFRY Presidency, that, in keeping with their powers, particularly with relation to the organization, method of involvement, and efficiency of the security services, they should urgently undertake supplementary measures allowed by the Constitution and the laws for the full protection of the integrity and

property of all citizens in Kosovo, particularly Serbs and Montenegrins, and for ensuring their equality in the realization of civil rights and duties.

The forthcoming constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia should also contribute to a more rapid and successful solution to the problems in Kosovo.

Communists in the organs and organizations of the LCY, in the Socialist Alliance, in the trade union organizations, and the youth and veterans' organizations, above all in Kosovo, undertake to mobilize all their forces in political actions which will prevent pressures and which will guarantee peaceful and secure life and work for all citizens in Kosovo, and so create a social climate in which the measures of the state organs will have their full effect. For the Communists and all the progressive forces in Kosovo, above all those of the Albanian nationality, this is the most urgent task and moral duty.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium is duty-bound to follow, analyze, and assess the political and security situation in the SAP of Kosovo and to undertake ideopolitical measures and activities, and to ensure that the LCY Central Committee is kept informed in a timely way.

5. The LCY Central Committee considers that halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and the return of those who have emigrated is the true measure and indicator of the normalization of conditions in the province, and of the prevention of the counterrevolutionary aim of an ethnically pure Kosovo. This action must be far better organized and more efficient, particularly in those municipalities where the aggressive activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists has increased, and emigration by Serbs and Montenegrins is greatest. To this end, the LCY Central Committee stresses the need for a critical assessment to be made by the end of September this year of all activities, and for additions to be made to the existing programs in each local community, village, organization of associated labor, school and municipality for the urgent resolution of basic political, economic and security problems.

It is a matter of the highest priority to implement, in the shortest possible time, the obligations in the Yugoslav program for halting emigration by Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo by building industrial facilities and infrastructures in 56 local communities and settlements in Kosovo. It is the duty and responsibility of Communists in the responsible organs and organizations of the federation, the republics and provinces, to ensure that this task is consistently carried out.

It is the duty of the competent organs in the SR of Serbia and the SAP of Kosovo to instigate as soon as possible other initiatives, and to develop practical measures for the greater and more rapid return of Serbs and Montegrins who have emigrated from Kosovo.

6. The LCY Central Committee declared that the process of resolving petitions and complaints is still slow, which is a cause for justified dissatisfaction among the citizens of Serbian, Montenegrin, and other nationalities in Kosovo. Arising from this, it is essential to undertake as urgently as possible effective measures to remove irregularities, illegalities, and injustices perpetrated against citizens, particularly Serbs and Montenegrins, measures which have been established by the working groups of the federal, republican, and provincial organs. The municipal LC committees and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee are obliged to address the issue of the specific accountability of organs, and individuals in those organs, for the incomplete and delayed removal of all those injustices, particularly in connection with annulling and revising all buying and selling agreements concluded under duress and measures of expropriation in certain environments which were carried out at the expense of citizens, particularly Serbs and Montenegrins, and to inform the Serbian LC Central Committee on this, as well as the LCY Central Committee and the general public. In the same way, the Communists in the Assembly of the SAP of Kosovo should call for an end to be brought as soon as possible to the forming of new municipalities and for the Constitution of a city community of the municipalities of Pristina to ensure the more effective realization of the rights of working people and citizens.

7. The LCY Central Committee as a particular duty the more resolute and consistent struggle for strengthening brotherhood and unity and Yugoslav socialist patriotism in the ranks of the youth in Kosovo. To this end, accountability should be made more acute in realizing the program for the struggle against indoctrinating young people from the ranks of the Albanian nationality with Albanian nationalism and separatism. An important contribution to this should be made by various activities by young people, from cultural, entertainment, and sports activities, to the organizing of federal youth work actions in Kosovo and the participation of young people from Kosovo in such actions throughout the country.

Communists involved in teaching and scientific work at the university, particularly those of Albanian nationality, must involve themselves to a far greater extent in a critical, Marxist exposure of the ideology and aims of Albanian nationalism and separatism, and in a building up of the awareness of the young generation of the values of the socialist self-managing society. Communists in the institutions of the system, particularly in the municipal and provincial organs and bodies for national defense should undertake measures to bring about and realize programs of ideopolitical and educational work with young people in order to train them for all- people's defense and social self-protection, as well as political work in the units of territorial defense in Kosovo.

Communists in the leaderships of sociopolitical organizations and other organs in the municipalities should constantly encourage and create initiatives for direct cooperation with units of the Yugoslav People's Army, particularly the organization of joint activities between young people

and members of the Army in the sphere of ideopolitical work, work actions, cultural, and sporting events. It is important that young people who were accepted in the LCY during their military service should actively involve themselves in all these and other sociopolitical activities in the environments where they live and work.

8. In order to coordinate demographic growth with realistic material and other conditions of economic, cultural, and social development, it is essential that Communists in the responsible institutions in the SAP of Kosovo call for the creation of conditions for organized and systematic monitoring and study of the influence of the demographic factor on the socioeconomic development of the province and, in keeping with the tasks in the Yugoslav program, establish and realize corresponding programs of action and measures of active population policy and family planning to reduce demographic growth to realistic limits.

9. Communists in the media undertake to ensure objective, comprehensive, and systematic information for the entire Yugoslav public on the situation and trends in Kosovo. In the central and provincial LC committees, the committee of the organisation of the LCY in the Army, the committees of the basic LC organizations in the organs and organizations of the federation, the basic LC organizations in the newspapers, publishing councils and elsewhere should at least every 3 months analyze their information and propaganda activity in realizing the conclusions of the Ninth Session of the LCY Central Committee. Within the framework of the Socialist Alliance they should initiate activities so the papers can involve themselves even more specifically and effectively in realizing them.

10. The LCY Central Committee points to the full and enduring relevance of the conclusions of the ninth session in that, with regard to the complexity and seriousness of the situation in Kosovo and increased obligations, ideopolitical differentiation must be continued with even greater consistency. The LC organizations and organs in Kosovo must rid themselves as soon as possible of those of their members, particularly those in leading posts, who are responsible for a passive attitude and for blocking action, for various mistakes, illegalities and unconscientious work, bureaucratic behavior, the impermissibly slow removal of the consequences of the nationalist indoctrination of young people, particularly in schools and universities.

The struggle to consistently realise LCY policy on Kosovo must above all be the struggle to train members and basic LC organizations, and particularly a struggle for cadres who are capable and resolute about putting this policy into practice. Cadre policy in Kosovo must be firmly based on the criteria and policy of the LCY and must serve the realization of the political theses of the LCY on Kosovo, particularly the conclusions of the Ninth Session of the LCY Central Committee. Such an approach to the issues of criticism and self-criticism and ideopolitical differentiation must at the same time be followed by the timely and effective prevention of nationalist attacks, criticisms and various other attempts to discredit in an unfounded way individuals and leaderships, particularly the use of the media for these purposes.

11. The LCY Central Committee obliges its members responsible for the municipal LC organisations of Kosovo to involve themselves directly and constantly in the work of municipal and basic LC organizations and the Kosovo LC as a whole, and to offer their assistance. Together with the activists of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, they are obligated to participate directly in solving specific problems in certain municipalities, to give initiatives for advancing political work, to check the implementation of established tasks and to encourage a more rapid ideopolitical differentiation and cadre renewal on the basis of the results achieved. They are responsible, through their work and authority as members of the LCY Central Committee, for ensuring not only increased activity and responsibility of Communists in basic organizations to broaden and strengthen in all enviroments the common front as activities by Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and members of other nations and nationalities.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium, by the end of September this year, will draw up a program for involving members of the LCY Central Committee and their specific responsibilities, in which a method will be developed for communication with municipal organizations and organs of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the coordination of their activities, and for informing the LCY organs about these activities. The members of the LCY Central Committee will at least every three months report on their activities in the municipal organization for which they are responsible.

12. The LCY Central Committee stresses the need for greater coordination of the organizations and organs of the federation, the republics, and provinces for a jointly organized, mutually coordinated, continuing and comprehensive social ation for implementing the conclusions of the ninth session and the Yugoslav program on Kosovo.

Taking as a starting point the serious nature of problems in Kosovo, and the constitutional role and responsibility of the SFRY Presidency, the LCY Central Committee proposes that this coordination should be conducted by the SFRY Presidency.

13. The Central Committee obliges the Presidency to regularly monitor, direct, and encourage vital activities for the effective and consistent implementation of these tasks and to inform the LCY Central Committee on this, in keeping with the time limits for these tasks and the conclusions of the ninth session.

Setinc Comments on Kosovo LCY Discussion

LD3107103188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jul (TANJUG)—I am firmly convinced that the implementation of the planned actions and of all the conclusions adopted by the LCY Central Committee Plenum yesterday to settle the situation in Kosovo will satisfy all the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. I am placing great hopes in these new efforts.

This was said today by Franc Setinc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, during his meeting with foreign journalists in the International Press Center in Belgrade on the session of the LCY Central Committee yesterday, whose main topic was Kosovo. The plenum discussed the tasks and their implementation stemming from the Ninth Session of the LCY Central Committee to settle the situation in that province.

Setinc stressed that the participants in the "marathon" plenum, which ended its work at 0535 this morning, had agreed with the assessment of the 12th Session of the Serbian LC Central Committee that the results attained by implementing the conclusions of the ninth session were "politically significant because they confirm that the problems can be resolved and the situation changed, but that this is not sufficient." Nor can we be satisfied, Setinc believes, that the situation with regard to intranational relations is worsening especially in specific environments, while the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins continues with undiminished intensity. This reflects best the interdependence of all short-term and long-term tasks stemming from the conclusions of the ninth session and the Yugoslav Program, he said.

Setinc informed foreign correspondents that extensive measures had been agreed on at this session to settle the situation in Kosovo and that maximum efforts have to be invested in their consistent implementation. He believes that the demand by members of the LCY Central Committee to establish specific responsibility for unfulfilled or poorly fulfilled tasks is one of the guarantees of the success of these measures. The measures which have been adopted also envisage a higher degree of physical presence by LCY Central Committee members in Kosovo to offer assistance to the comrades in the province, Setinc said.

Setinc stressed that the plenum resolutely insists that the complete safety of all inhabitants should be secured in Kosovo, not through repressive measures but exclusively within the framework of legality. In this connection and replying to a question by a journalist, Setinc stressed that within the framework of preventive measures the reorganization of a detachment of the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs in Kosovo is one of the points under consideration. Setinc explained that this did not imply strengthening the detachment with additional personnel but merely a deployment of some of its sections so that they could be even more efficient in helping the militia in Kosovo to maintain security.

Setinc also stressed that the 1974 Constitution did not create the counterrevolution in Kosovo. However this did not mean that changes could not help the settlement of the situation in that province. It was noted at the plenum that the constitutional problems were important for the situation in and for the future of Yugoslavia, for a way out of the social, economic, and political crisis, and therefore for Kosovo as well.

Setinc explained that during the discussion, which he described as critical, trenchant, and polemical, but which ended with unity, certain differences emerged in the views on the causes of and the assessments of the situation in Kosovo. Everyone considers the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists as the main reason for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. However, opinions diverge, as he put it, on the point where some put stress on the question of personal and property security, while others stress the objective causes of emigration, such as the people's overall poor sociopolitical atmosphere and poor material position.

In this context Setinc evaluated the LCY as entering a new phase of its development in which it cannot be guaranteed that there will never be anymore "sniping" and difference of opinion during sessions. Asked whether it will now be the practice to make all sessions public, Setinc stressed that this openness is an indicator of the spirit of democracy in our society and that it is now very difficult for Yugoslav Communists to regress.

Kosovo Serbs Protest Vojvodina Leaders Near Pec

AU3107135988 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 25 Jul 88 p 5

[N.S. report: "Protest Meeting of Serbian and Montenegrin Citizens"]

[Text] Pec, 24 Jul—Even despite the stand adopted by the LCY Central Committee Presidium against the organization of protest meetings, the inhabitants of the village of Belo Polje near Pec held such a gathering today, supporting the standpoints of the leadership of the SR of Serbia and attacking a number of Vojvodina leaders. There were also unacceptable slogans and demands at this meeting, at which there were citizens from other places.

At the end of the protest gathering, in which about 200 people took part, a telegram was sent to the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium.

Electricity Price Hike Announced 2 Aug

LD0208190188 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] According to a statement given to TANJUG by Yugoslav electricity industry representatives, the price of electricity is raised by an average of 39 percent from today. The price rise is intended to correct the electricity price disparity of one sixth determined at the beginning of the year. The increase also represents an attempt at readjusting and realigning electricity prices with the general price trend in the first 6 months. The rest of the disparity will be corrected gradually by the end of 1989.

'Intensity of Workers' Revolt' Analysed

LD0208104288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0952 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, August 2 (TANJUG)—There have been fewer strikes in Yugoslavia this year than the previous, but what now makes them the most serious problem is the intensity of the workers' revolt.

The workers' revolt throughout Yugoslavia is distorting the earlier picture of the causes of strikes, or, as they were called until recently, work stoppages. Even the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia recently observed that the crucial reason for striking is not only dissatisfaction with low wages, but dissatisfaction with the overall situation.

It has become clear that the increasingly frequent workers' unrest cannot be allayed by temporary wages' increases. The workers' dissatisfaction has not only a social, but also a very clear political background. The workers very sharply condemn individuals for their privileges and demand that incompetent leaderships be removed from office and social reforms implemented.

Yugoslav trade unions head Marjan Orozen has said that the trade unions were flooded with protests. The workers have not been protesting only because of low wages, a consequence of the government policy of economic stabilization, but also because of their uncertain future in general. In June alone, prices of Yugoslavia rose 21 percent and the growing inflation reached 175 percent.

The Yugoslav leadership seems to be aware of the danger of possible larger-scale workers' unrests, especially because plants employing as many as several thousand workers have increasingly frequently struck of late.

The Yugoslav party leadership has obviously made it clear it understands the gravity of the situation when it emphasized that the trade unions would have to lead the strikes in the future and that Communists could no longer abstain from taking part if the workers' requests and protests were justified.

Until recently, information about workers' revolts was reluctantly made public. The strikers are now going out into the streets. They arrive in the capital, protest outside the Federal Assembly and make speeches before TV cameras. After the ranking officials promise them larger wages, they temporarily disperse.

Although even the greatest optimists were not likely to believe that the workers would calmly accept considerably lower wages and the drastic price hikes of goods and services, many were, nevertheless, surprised by the strike wave. The government failed to introduce social measures which would cushion the impact of the measures of economic stabilization on the workers with the lowest wages.

Yugoslavia faces serious economic and other consequences if the government abandons, under pressure from strikes, the planned market orientation and reform of the economic system.

By simply increasing wages the problems can be solved only temporarily. The workers will, however, encounter even greater problems in a very short time. So will the Yugoslav society.

Yielding to the strikers' requests would mean abandoning the announced deeper reforms of the economic and political system. And that, as has been warned, would result in unforeseeable economic and political consequences.

Zagreb Daily on LCY Presidium Stances

AU3107149688 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jul 88 p 5

[Radmila Stankovic commentary: "March on Democracy"]

[Text] Could this country's party Presidium have done more than what it offered last week in its stances?

It seems that the answer is no, because this document is obviously a mirror image of the balance of power in the Presidium itself, and the false dilemma "who should one say is right in the case of the Serbs' and Montenegrins' march on Novi Sad" has remained in the shadow of the basic question: "Can one use old methods of work in new situations?

The stances underwent their first test only 2 days after they had been issued, when 10,000 citizens, who gathered in Pancevo, gave their "yes" to what the Presidium had announced. The fact that Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo failed to come and protest in this Vojvodina town was also conduct "in conformity with the stances."

Therefore, both things, both ways are acceptable—this is characteristic of most of the text offered. One can only guess why the Presidium was unable to react in a different way and to stop the stream of events that followed the Novi Sad march considering that the session was absolutely closed so that even the presence of two people working for the Presidium's own information sector was considered a disturbance. The withdrawal of

the initial announcement clearly shows that even the possibility of a qualified hint that the Presidium might make a judgment was prevented.

To tell the truth, it is difficult to say what a "judgment" would look like in a case of conflict among Serbian leaders, unless we invoke a portion of the Presidium's stances:

"It was self-critically stated at the session that the LCY Central Committee Presidium should have acted even more energetically in conforming with its role and responsibilities, as well as with the gravity of the case and its unfavorable development and consequences. It should have shown initiative, and thereby have exerted more effective influence on preventing the negative polarization of the events and on assessing and solving the events in a principled way."

Instead of "acting more energetically," it sent a sort of appeal to the quarreling forces to reconcile and reach agreement. This is more appropriate for the United Nations when it addresses Husayn and Khomeini than to the party work under rather troubled circumstances, caused by the changes in the constitution of a republic and by the consequences of a 7-year counterrevolution in one of its provinces, from which members of two ethnic groups continue to emigrate under duress. In the situation such as this, one cannot but ask the following question: Under the pressure of the Saturday gathering and other gatherings, which are an expression of the overall tension in society, how long can one respond with stereotyped statements resulting from a fruitless compromise in the country's party leadership? One could use the thought of the Montenegrin philisopher—new times bring new struggles— under the condition that his successors in the job of leading the people do not argue among themselves whether the new time has come or not, particularly since they are trotting along with a work method that is increasingly at odds with the demands of the members who elected them.

One of the new attributes of public and political mood in the country was defined last Friday by Slobodan Milosevic, leader of the Serbian Communists, who said the following:

"The great political mobilization in Serbia represents a demand for both political and economic reform. Therefore, this political mobilization and the fact that citizens can express their opinions publicly and in en mass is not politicization but democracy. According to the character of these messages, it is socialist democracy." One should recall here that one of the speakers in Pancevo invoked Milosevic's words.

Therefore, along with the definition of the Slovene democratic syndrome we now have the attributes of socialist democracy in Serbia. Probably because they were unable to realize their rights that are part of the country's basic systemic setup in a legal and constitutional, working, self-managing, and electoral manner, the people set out to gain democracy in a way previously unheard of during the 40 years of its democratic development.

When one accepts Slobodan Milosevic's explanation, then this kind of democratic pressure on the part of the Serbian people must also be accepted and recognized. After things have begun with the democratic expressions of the Slovene people's mood, Kucan and Milosevic could in the future be joined by other party leaders expounding on socialist democracy in their republic and among the people living on its territory. In this context, the gathering of 10,000 citizens in Pancevo is an expression of socialist democracy in the demand for changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia.

However, there remain some open questions which will have to be answered as the early as end of this week, at the LCY Central Committee session which is to be held on 29 July. First of all, there is a question of whether such a definition of social democracy conforms with democratic centralism in the work of the LCY or, to be more precise, its Presidium when only 2 days before this Presidium adopted the following sentence within its stances:

"Bearing in mind the damaging implications of the Novi Sad events, the LCY Central Committee Presidium particularly stresses the need for the organs of the Serbian LC Central Committee and of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee to prevent, through their political action, the announced mass gatherings and visits to other communes as a form of unacceptable pressure and intensification of the already complex social situation, and to resolutely strive toward finding a more effective solution to the problems in Kosovo."

Second: If socialist democracy is the expression of freedom of the citizens of one republic, what can we call the prevention of the workers of the Zorka of Sabac from joining the workers from Vukovar on their way to Belgrade?

Recalling the already well-known "Workers of the world,..." when are we going to find somebody who will answer this question and by doing this, clear the obviously blocked path leading from the nation's democracy to a class democracy.

Dolanc Addresses Veterans Day Meeting

AU0707114188 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 5 Jul 88 p 2

[Unattributed report on speech by Stane Dolanc, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, at Bojanci on 3 July: "Rule of Law and Humanism"]

[Text] Bojanci, 4 Jul—"We must keep a cool head and decide for the right moves on the complex chessboard of the Yugoslav situation, while respecting our basic principles of national and class harmony, which we will not

attain at the expense of one or another," Stane Dolanc, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, stressed at the Veterans Day celebration at Bojanci in Bela Krajina [Slovenia]. He continued:

In the present economic situation, we meet with severe political problems all over Yugoslavia. There exist people who in these circumstances want to sow distrust in everything that we have achieved, in all the leaderships and all the institutions of our system. Stronger and stronger nationalist strivings are appearing, some people are denying the ability of socialist self-management to overcome the crisis, attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army appear, many people underestimate the values and achievements of our revolution and in addition try to devalue the role of Comrade Tito during the national liberation struggle and in freedom.

We must clearly delineate and distinguish the justified criticism and dissatisfaction with the situation in society from those who want to fish in muddy water and want to exploit the present crisis for an attack on socialism, self-management, and equality of our peoples and nationalities, which is to say on socialist Yugoslavia as a whole. Many of these things have been lately shaking Slovenia, too. The great majority of the Slovene people see their future only in Yugoslavia as a socialist self-managing community of equal peoples and nationalities, and there is no need to try to convince anybody about it.

Everything that directly or indirectly undermines socialist Yugoslavia, the LC role, the Yugoslav People's Army, the federal system, or equality, is equally dangerous both in Slovenia and in Serbia, or anywhere else in our joint motherland.

All those who do these things should be clearly and resolutely told "no." The economic reform can be carried out only along the democratic road, but this democracy must be for all, and in addition democracy cannot exist without responsibility. All those who try to exploit the present economic situation for various intrigues, insinuations, and manipulation—just as it happened in the so-called military putsch case—must be aware of their own responsibility before the Slovene people, before Yugoslavia, and not last before the world democratic public. The recent session of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia provided a clear answer to all these and publicly shed light on and denounced their conduct.

The Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia analyzed the social causes of the present dissatisfaction and noted that the dissatisfaction is a logical consequence of the lagging in development in Slovenia and in Yugoslavia and that it is quite understandable. At the same time, together with all other complications, it uses the precious creative and working energy of the people, the energy that is direly needed for the removal of the fundamental causes of the social crisis as well as for further, more aggressive steps into the future.

However, it is not possible to understand everything that happened in the past few weeks, and even less is it possible to remove the causes of all these events, if we look at them outside the framework of the Yugoslav crisis and the overall relations in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav People's Army, too, is our common army, it is no occupation army, and it is not an institution that should be closed behind barracks walls.

Another reason that I want to point out all this is that Slovenia, and all of Yugoslavia, have been aroused in the past few weeks because of the suspicion that somebody unauthorized got hold of a secret military document. In all this nobody violated the principle of the presumption of innocence until a court convicts. We are all sorry that all this has happened, that the matter has become so political, and that it caused such a reaction. We should certainly all be aware that both the state and the Army must defend themselves from the activities of all those that could endanger them. Precisely for this reason we must all, and I mean all, consistently strive for the rule of law, humanism, and for work of all organs being public. Unless we adhere to these principles, we deny the basic principles of our system and legal state.

LCY Presidium Member Criticizes Romania

AU0208104688 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 1 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] Belgrade— For the first time, Yugoslavia's party leadership has publicly criticized Romania's minority policy. Over the weekend [30-31 July] Franc Setinc, member of the LCY Presidium, said in a talk with journalists in Belgrade that the Romanian authorities have always rejected requests for talks about the more than 50,000 Serbs and Croats who live in the neighboring country with the argument that the problem has already been solved.

This, however, does not correspond to the facts. Previously, the Belgrade newspaper VECERNJE NOVOSTI had reported that Bucharest has intensified the Romanianization policy since spring. Bilingual place-name signs are being abolished, Serbian schools are being closed down, and cultural events organized by ethnic groups in their mother tongue are prohibited. Using the energy crisis as an excuse, the Serbo-Croatian broadcast of Radio Temesvar was discontinued in 1985.

Zemljaric Meets Iraq's First Deputy Premier

LD3007225488 Belgrade TANJUG in English

1731 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Baghdad, July 30 (TANJUG)—To keep a high degree of economic cooperation and possibilities for further widening it in the coming period were in the focus of attention here today of a talk between Taha Yasin Ramadan, a member of the Revolutionary Command Council and concurrently Iraq's first deputy premier, and Janez Zemljaric, a vice-president of Yugoslavia's Federal Executive Council (government), on a visit to Iraq now, here today.

In a cordial and friendly talk, Zemljaric and Ramadan emphasised that no efforts should be spared for the Iraq-Iran war's coming to an end as soon as possible.

Zemljaric also met with his host, Dr Salem Mehdi. They discussed the implementation of cooperation agreed on before in the fields of trade, capital construction deals and oil deliveries by which, for the most part, Iraq pays Yugoslav contractors of capital construction deals in Iraq.